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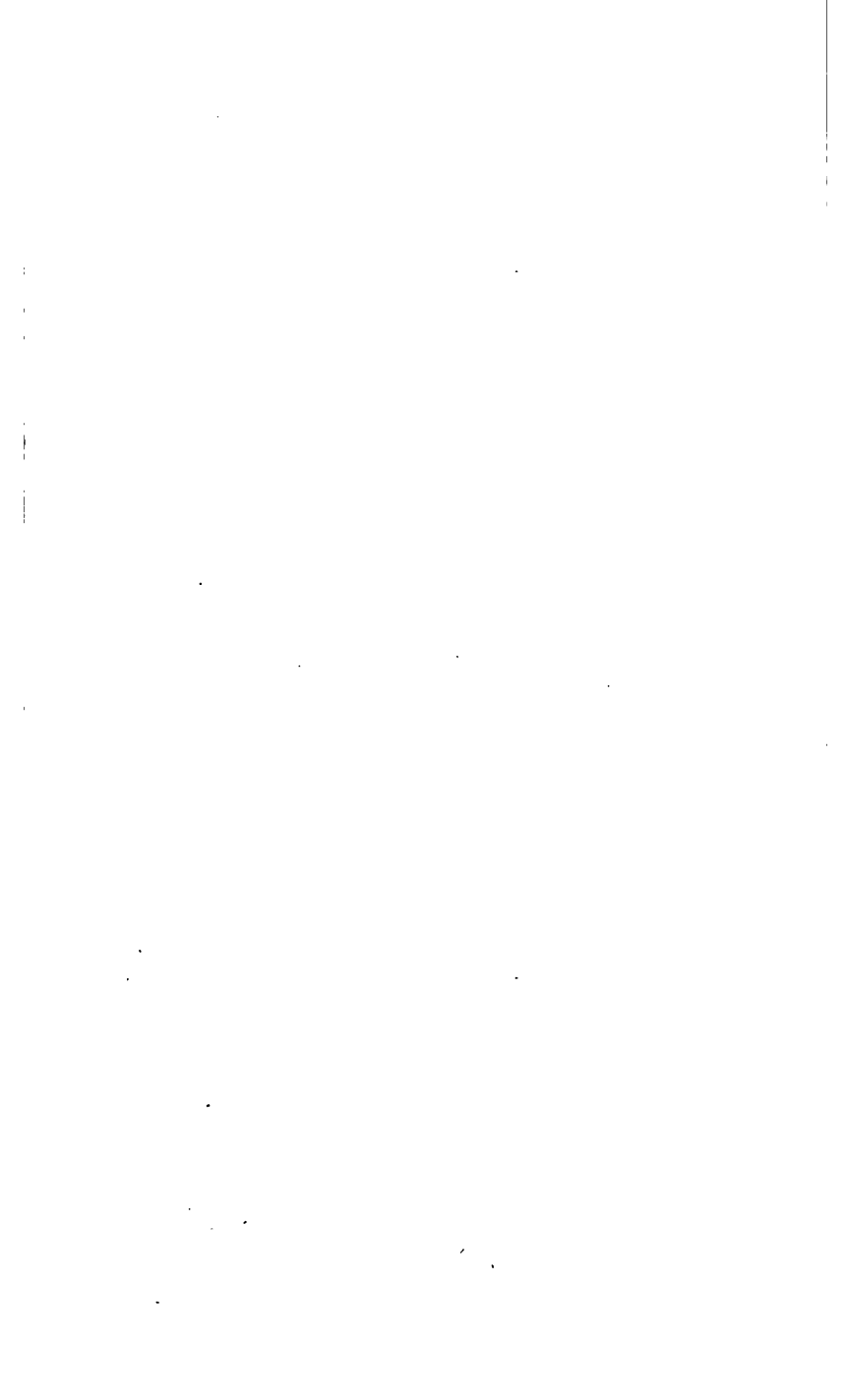
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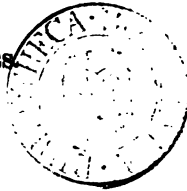
**ITALY**  
**AND**  
**THE ITALIANS.**

**BY**  
**FREDERIC VON RAUMER,**

**AUTHOR OF**  
**"ENGLAND IN 1835," "ILLUSTRATIONS OF HISTORY," &c.**

**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. I.**



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**1840.**

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE following pages contain nothing like a complete account of the country visited ; they merely touch upon certain subjects, to which attention has been hitherto but little directed. My communications, therefore, are merely an appendix to more detailed accounts, and even within their own sphere do not pretend to approach completeness. On the other hand, through the favour of individuals in authority, and through the friendly co-operation of many well-informed men (ambassadors, public functionaries, scholars, &c.) I have collected, within a short period, more remarkable and authentic facts than it would have been possible to do under less favourable circumstances.

Some of my friends thought it advisable that I should relieve the serious character of my commu-

nications, and give more variety and lightness to the whole, by introducing parts of my private letters. In complying with these suggestions, however, I have omitted every thing personal, and that related to marks of attention shown to myself. In doing this, I have not been actuated by ingratitude, but by a wish to avoid repetition; for countless were the occasions on which it would have been my duty to praise the kindness and obliging conduct which I every where experienced. For the occasional want of connection to which these omissions have unavoidably led, and for the errors of which, in spite of all my diligence, I may sometimes have been guilty, I must entreat the pardon of my readers.

Those who wish to read only the one or the other half of my little work, will easily be able to ascertain from the contents, and from the headings of the letters, what they deem most likely to interest them, and they can skip what they think will prove less attractive.

BERLIN,  
1st of January, 1840.

# CONTENTS

OF

## THE FIRST VOLUME.

---

### LETTER I.

Journey from Dresden to Vienna—Don Carlos—Prince Metternich—Mendelssohn's Paul—Norma—Vienna and Berlin—Journey by way of Grätz to Trieste . . . . .	1
---	---

### LETTER II.

Reception at Trieste . . . . .	15
--------------------------------	----

### LETTER III.

View of Venice—Venice—St. Mark's—Pieta—Archives—Celebration of Easter—Music . . . . .	16
---	----

### LETTER IV.

Tombola—Procession—Democracy of 1797—Churches—Pictures—Ateneo—Dante . . . . .	24
---	----

### LETTER V.

Italy in general—Extent of Trieste—Population—Woods—History of the City—French Domination—Return of the Austrians—Finances—Taxation—Clergy—Schools—Commerce—Exchange—Lloyd—Navigation—Commercial Treaties—Imports and Exports—Commercial Laws—Civic Institutions . . . . .	36
--	----

### LETTER VI.

Decline of the Republic of Venice—Its Causes—Free Port—Navigation—Imports and Exports—Taxation—Revenue and Expenditure of the City . . . . .	66
--	----



## LETTER VII.

Comparison between Venice and Trieste	74
---------------------------------------	----

## LETTER VIII.

Improvement in Venice — Merit of the Government — Poor Laws—Foundling Hospitals	83
---	----

## LETTER IX.

Venice—Railroads—Schools	90
--------------------------	----

## LETTER X.

Army and Navy of Austrian Italy	94
---------------------------------	----

## LETTER XI.

Journey from Venice to Milan — Verona—Brescia—Position of Milan — The Stradella Theatre — Cathedral — Marchesi	96
--	----

## LETTER XII.

Milan—Archives—The Scala—Donizetti—Manzoni	104
--	-----

## LETTER XIII.

Milan—Viceroy's Palace—Triumphal Arch—The Emperor's Fete—Picture Gallery	111
--	-----

## LETTER XIV.

Milan—Manzoni—The Ambrosian Library	115
-------------------------------------	-----

## LETTER XV.

Milan—Miss Kemble	120
-------------------	-----

## LETTER XVI.

Milan—Cathedral—Journey from Milan to Turin	121
---	-----

## LETTER XVII.

Former condition of Lombardy—Merit of the Austrian Government—Maria Theresa—Count Firmian—Extent and Division of the Country—The Viceroy—The Governor—The Departments of Government, Finance, and Jurisprudence	124
---	-----

## CONTENTS.

vii

### LETTER XVIII.

Lombardy—Taxation—Commercial Institutions—Chambers  
of Commerce—Rural Assemblies—Central Assembly 134

### LETTER XIX.

Lombardy—Population . . . . . 147

### LETTER XX.

Lombardy—Land-Tax—Registration—Tax on Trades—Poll  
Tax—Revenue and Expenditure of the City of Milan 151

### LETTER XXI.

Lombardy—Customs—Government Monopolies—Lottery—  
Domains and Forests—Revenue of the State—Public  
Debt . . . . . 163

### LETTER XXII.

Lombardy—Agriculture—Rearing of Cattle—Cultivation of  
the Silk Worm . . . . . 170

### LETTER XXIII.

Lombardy—Crimes—Foundling Hospitals—Illegitimate  
Children . . . . . 178

### LETTER XXIV.

Lombardy—Schools—Gymnasiums . . . . . 182

### LETTER XXV.

Remarks on the course of instruction in the schools of Lom-  
bardy . . . . . 190

### LETTER XXVI.

Lombardy—Lycées—Universities—Academy—Exhibition  
of Works of Art . . . . . 193

### LETTER XXVII.

Lombardy—Laws relative to the Press—The Clergy—Im-  
provements in Lombardy . . . . . 203

### LETTER XXVIII.

Turin—Conversions to Catholicism . . . . . 208

## LETTER XXIX.

Turin—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Picture Gallery— Academy . . . . .	209
---	-----

## LETTER XXX.

Turin—Society—Holidays—Court Etiquette—Climate— Ecclesiastical Relations . . . . .	214
---	-----

## LETTER XXXI.

Turin—The Court—The Travelled Sergeant . . . . .	218
--	-----

## LETTER XXXII.

Turin—Royal Message . . . . .	219
-------------------------------	-----

## LETTER XXXIII.

Turin—The Armoury—The King—Country Excursion— The Waldenses . . . . .	220
--	-----

## LETTER XXXIV.

Turin—The Academy—An Old Beau—Anecdotes of Royalty . . . . .	223
---	-----

## LETTER XXXV.

Journey from Turin to Genoa . . . . .	225
---------------------------------------	-----

## LETTER XXXVI.

Situation of Genoa—Marchese di Negro—Disturbance on account of the Opera Dancers' Drawers . . . . .	
--	--

## LETTER XXXVII.

Turin—Carlo Felice Theatre . . . . .	231
--------------------------------------	-----

## LETTER XXXVIII.

Genoa—The Sudario—Politics—Queen Victoria . . . . .	232
---	-----

## LETTER XXXIX.

Piedmont—Administration—Council of State—Jurisprudence —Municipal Regulations—Turin; Revenues and Expendi- diture of the City . . . . .	236
---	-----

## LETTER XL.

Piedmont—Code of Laws—Ecclesiastical Law—Waldenses, Jews—Law of Marriage—Domains—Majorats . . . . .	244
--	-----

## CONTENTS.

ix

### LETTER XLI.

The Army—Military Schools . . . . .	252
-------------------------------------	-----

### LETTER XLII.

Piedmont—Schools—Gymnasiums—Universities . . . . .	254
--	-----

### LETTER XLIII.

Piedmont—Improvements of all kinds—Population—Found- ling Hospitals . . . . .	261
--	-----

### LETTER XLIV.

Piedmont — Finances — Taxes — Customs — Government Monopolies — Taxes on Consumption — Debt of the State . . . . .	267
--	-----

### LETTER XLV.

Genoa — Agricultural Produce—Olives—Oranges—Lemons — Woods—Population—Exports . . . . .	275
--	-----

### LETTER XLVI.

Genoa—Commerce—Shipping—Imports . . . . .	281
---	-----

### LETTER XLVII.

Genoa—Municipal Government—Income and Expenditure of the City . . . . .	285
--	-----

### LETTER XLVIII.

University of Genoa . . . . .	291
-------------------------------	-----

### LETTER XLIX.

Sardinia — Former condition of the Island—Recent Changes and Improvements . . . . .	294
--	-----

### LETTER L.

North Italy—Condition of the Farming Population—Half- lings — Mezzadria — Cattle-sharing Contracts — Laws of Parma relative to these subjects . . . . .	302
---	-----

### LETTER LI.

Various Opinions respecting the System of the Mezza- dria . . . . .	309
--	-----

**CONTENTS.**

**LETTER LII.**

<b>Laws of the Duchy of Parma . . . . .</b>	<b>314</b>
---	------------

**LETTER LIII.**

<b>Passage to Leghorn—Pisa . . . . .</b>	<b>316</b>
--	------------

**LETTER LIV.**

<b>Pisa — Celebrated Buildings — Campo Santo — Journey to Florence . . . . .</b>	<b>319</b>
--	------------

**LETTER LV.**

<b>To L. Tieck—Florence—Situation—Theatre—Nicolini—Pro- cessions — The Dowager Grand-Duchess — The Grand- Duke . . . . .</b>	<b>323</b>
--	------------

**LETTER LVI.**

<b>Reflections on Art and Works of Art, by One of the Unin- formed — Trieste — Venice — Beauty — The Medicean Venus . . . . .</b>	<b>330</b>
---	------------

**LETTER LVII.**

<b>Right of Inheritance . . . . .</b>	<b>339</b>
---------------------------------------	------------

**LETTER LVIII.**

<b>Catholicism—English and French — Politics and Conversa- sion . . . . .</b>	<b>341</b>
---	------------

**LETTER LIX.**

<b>Reflections on Art, by One of the Uninformed. First Con- tinuation — Venus de Medici, once more, and for ever! — —The Sense of Smell—Miscellaneous Remarks on Flo- rence . . . . .</b>	<b>344</b>
---	------------

## LETTERS FROM ITALY.

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### LETTER I.

Journey from Dresden to Vienna—Don Carlos—Prince Metternich—Mendelssohn's Paul—Norma—Vienna and Berlin—Journey by way of Grätz to Trieste.

Vienna, March 13, 1839.

ON Saturday, the 9th of March, at eleven in the forenoon, I left Dresden for Prague, the sun shining beautifully, and apparently announcing the approach of spring. The pine-trees lightly powdered with snow, and the more heavily laden firs, contributed to form a beautiful winter landscape. Thick rows of icicles a yard long, which fringed the thatched roofs, and the snow, drifted in many places to the height of the house-tops, I willingly accepted as accessories to the said winter landscape; and on my arrival at Teplitz, at eight in the

greatest danger I have yet been exposed to, was during the last night of our journey, and was owing to my round little travelling companion. Her legs not reaching to the floor of the carriage, she generally sought a *point d'appui* against the opposite seat. On this occasion she lifted her legs a little higher than she had intended, and planted them firmly against my breast; so firmly indeed, that I was obliged to get the better of my politeness, and call her attention to the real state of affairs.

At Peterswalde the searching of our baggage occupied little time; but at Vienna, the official investigator had no mercy upon my portmanteau, unfolding the most trifling article of its contents, not even sparing a false tooth that I carried with me as a precautionary reserve. This exposure of my defect took place only in the presence of our gaping postillion, still I deemed myself justified in avenging the insult by withholding the intended fee of a *zwanziger*.

At Vienna, I put up at the City of Frankfort hotel, which appears to merit the praise I have so often heard bestowed on it. Room, bed, and dinner, excellent. Besides, it is to this hotel that I am indebted for all the new learning I have collected on this journey; I now know what *fleckerlsuppe* is; I now know that roast beef and maccaroni go very well together; and that the *hucher* is a fish

caught in the Danube, and is eaten with oil and vinegar.

Thursday, March 14.

I have at times thought myself tolerably industrious, and so you professed to think me; but the *Wiener Zeitung* of yesterday convinces me that I must be a mere snail or tortoise, compared with the Cesarewicz, the hereditary Grand Duke of Russia. In one forenoon he contrived to inspect the collection of antiquities, the cabinet of medals, the museum of natural history, the library, St. Stephen's Church, St. Augustine's Church, besides various charitable institutions; nay, so completely did he master all these things, that nothing remained for him to do, so that he was able to set off again that evening.

In the evening I went to the *Burg Theater*, and saw three acts of *Don Carlos*. Independently of the notorious fact that all is *fiction* in this *historical* drama, the poetical incidents appear to me unnatural, incredible, impossible. For instance, the fabulous etiquette, along with gross violations of decorum; the extreme reserve of the king, along with the inconsiderate talkativeness of his anxiety about the prince, and that in presence of his whole court; the private lecture of the impracticable Posa; the rendezvous with Eboli, &c. How such



characters ought to be represented on the stage, it is difficult to say. Fichtner, in Carlos, did what he could to preserve a consistency in the personation, by uniting the *disjecta membra poetæ*. Korn, in Posa, an experienced actor, with a harsh unmusical voice. Reichel played the Queen, in a manner superior to the customary way of spouting the part. Fournier, in the Princess Eboli, fluent, and without the little artifices that have frequently been censured; but no actress can entirely remove the natural doubts to which the character gives rise. Does Eboli really love the Prince? Is she merely a coquette, or is she trying whether she can make the best bargain with the father or the son?

Friday, March 15.

I yesterday went first to M. Burger, author of the highly instructive Journey through Upper Italy. We conversed much together of agriculture, farm-leases, state of the peasantry, &c.

At twelve o'clock I was with Prince Metternich. This interview was the main object of my journey to Vienna. After all the warnings and advice I had received, in direct opposition to which I was fully determined to act, I might naturally have felt some uneasiness. Convinced, however, that I had to do with a really great statesman, I knew that the open straightforward course was the best. In re-

ply, therefore, to the prince's first question, I informed him without reserve of the real objects of my proposed journey.

My audience lasted for an hour and a half. I spoke as little as possible myself, while the prince discoursed away with the openness, clearness, practical good sense, and total absence of empty abstractions, which characterize the superior statesman—a style as opposite as possible to the finesse, ambiguity, and mendacity of T—— and his sophisticated school.

The prince asked me more than once, whether I was not of his way of thinking? It could to him have been of very little importance whether I were or not; but to me, I own, it afforded much gratification to find, that all the positions which I had vainly endeavoured to enforce at Berlin, on the subject of our ecclesiastical difficulties, were now confirmed, on every material point, by the first statesman of Europe.

Sunday, March 17.

On Friday, I received visits from Mr. B. and Mr. W. With the former I resumed my conversation on the topics already mentioned, which gradually led us to the theologico-matrimonial question. He observed that the Austrian, in imitation of the Prussian clergy, were beginning to put forward

claims, and to lay down principles, that overstepped the letter of the law, though in many places sanctioned by custom. Upon the whole, he said, the protestant clergy here had much more influence in private families, were more active, and more strict in their general conduct, than the catholic ecclesiastics. (The customary position of dissenters, with respect to the dominant church.) Conversions from protestantism, it appears, are of rare occurrence, except from worldly motives; on the other hand, conversions to protestantism are chiefly confined to the peasantry, who sometimes take offence at the disorderly life led by their priests.

In the evening, at Kronser Fournier's, I made the acquaintance of Mesdames Schröder and Weisenthurn, both intelligent and interesting women. There was, of course, no lack of green-room anecdotes. Accept the following as a sample. Böttiger, sitting at table opposite to Madame H., took a rose from a basket of flowers, and said: "This delicate plant is an emblem of our fair and gifted friend." At that moment, nearly all the leaves of the rose dropped from the stalk.—Madame Händel Schütz had just been playing Maria Stuart, and complained to Schröder of exhaustion. "The poetry of the piece," observed the latter, "is certainly calculated to excite one's feelings very strongly." "Oh," replied Schütz, "it is not the words

that have fatigued me; but I was obliged to remain, throughout that long scene, fixed in the attitude in which Vandyke has painted the Queen."

Yesterday morning the thermometer stood at 9° below zero of Reaumur, (12° Fahrenheit), and the wind blew a hurricane. To-day the cold is less intense, but everything is white with snow. Some people maintain, that to travel to Trieste, at present, is to expose one's life to imminent peril; on the other hand, all are agreed that the most convenient, safe, and expeditious plan, is to go with the post-office courier; that it is preferable even to travelling in one's own carriage with post-horses. I recollect, on the day of the dreaded equinox, I made the passage from Rotterdam to London, and found the sea as smooth as a mirror; on the present occasion, perhaps, I may be similarly favoured, and frost and storm may pass away, out of compliment to me. Be this as it may, I shall not allow myself to be frightened; and you, I know, are, Heaven be praised, no timid creatures, or I should hardly venture to repeat to you lamentations and predictions of this kind.

Monday, March 18.

Yesterday was a musical day. From half-past twelve till about three, Mendelssohn's Paul was performed in the *Redoutensaal*, which was lighted

up for the occasion. For the sake of brevity all the chorals were omitted. For my part, had I been obliged to shorten the piece, I would rather have left out a part here and there, than have lopped away a main limb, an entire branch of the composition. In every other respect, the performance was deserving of praise; the large building was completely full, and the audience appeared to be delighted with their entertainment. M. Krause sang the bass with a fine dignified voice, and Mademoiselle Tucek gave her whole part, but more particularly the Jerusalem, with a voice that went at once to the heart. The choruses also were deserving of praise. The counter-tenor was as full as it always ought to be, but seldom is; and in the treble, the higher notes (G and A) came out with softness and purity, whereas with us they are often forced or screamed out. Is this owing to a defect in our school, or to a defect in the throats of our singers?

In the evening, at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre, the play was Norma. Wild is now a mere ruin, and keeps up only by dint of great efforts. Standigel's is an excellent bass voice. Madame Lutzer has more power than Madame Löwe, but less elegance and action. The composition itself I look upon as even worse than many other of Bellini's pieces. This mamma of a vestal is a

paltry made-up thing in comparison with Spontini's enduring work of art. This gurgling, jumping up and down, and chromatic running about; this outrageous screaming, and suppressed whispering; and that without distinction, whether love, complaint, hate, fury, or prayer have to be expressed; all this to me is the *non plus ultra* of anti-music and of the undramatical; a beggarly, tawdry, patch-work finery!

In Vienna, where genius of the first order, where men like Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, may be said to have discovered a new world of music; where talent like that of Salieri, Winter, and even the cheerful Wenzel Müller, cultivated more familiar fields; even there nothing but mere sing-song now holds sway, or at best the spurious coin passes current and uncensured by the side of that of intrinsic value.

I have not had leisure this time to see the curiosities and the collections of art, but Vienna itself has made upon me the same impression as formerly. Berlin, in comparison, appears as a mere upstart, that has built himself a smart house, and has fitted it up showily. Here every thing seems to rest on a sounder foundation; the state is larger, the land more productive, the wealth far surpasses that of Prussia, and stands second only to that of England. We brag a great deal about one thing, our wit, be-

cause we feel that without it we should be nothing. There are those, however, who presume to question whether this article really abounds more in Berlin than in Vienna. Besides, have not many of those who announce themselves as guardians of the Prussian Zion done much of late years to check, cripple, clip, intimidate, and neutralize it?

Thursday, March 19.

Even among the learned we meet with strange approximations of learning and ignorance. At Count St. Aulaire's I met a Frenchman, who had Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople at his finger's ends, and yet fancied that the nearest way from Berlin to England was by the way of Stettin, and through the Baltic!

Trieste, March 23.

"A man should always be prepared for the worst," is an excellent proverb, and such I have found it. To begin. The post-carriage (Briefeiliwagen) did not indeed close hermetically; still it was incomparably better and more convenient than those in which I had been put to the torture between Dresden and Vienna. Moreover, in the front seat, calculated for two, there was Mr. D., a merchant, besides myself, so that we had room enough to stretch our legs; and then no time was lost, for

the horses went as fast as circumstances allowed. It was these very circumstances, however, that darkened the whole picture. On starting from Vienna we found the roads bad, and as we approached the Sömmering the frost had changed every thing into snow and ice, and these bore us faithful company till we were close to Trieste. Indeed, since leaving Berlin, from the first to the 22nd of March, I have not been a day without the full enjoyment of winter; we are now going through a course of rain, and then comes the broiling.

As for the whole road from Vienna to this town, it is the least beautiful and interesting of any that I am acquainted with. Even that by Klagenfurt is to be preferred, and that over the Brenner still more so, but all those further to the west are infinitely superior. And yet I could not help choosing it, for it was the only one that I did not know, and that was passable at this season of the year; because it was necessary that I should see Prince Metternich, and some other persons in Vienna, and I was desirous also of becoming acquainted with Trieste. Any one not actuated by similar motives would be wrong to choose Vienna and Grätz for his route to Italy.

On Wednesday the 20th, we had beautiful weather; the sun shone with such splendour upon the ice and snow, that my blue spectacles proved ex-



tremely serviceable. We arrived in the evening at Grätz, which lies in a spacious plain, and looks quite imposing with its castle. The handsomest object, however, that *I* saw there, was the maid who waited on us at the inn; to enter into conversation with her was a matter of some difficulty; not so much on account of the difference between our ages, as of the much greater difference between her German and mine.

From Laybach to Sessana we had snow, and then followed heavy rain. Passing over the stony desert so often described, I reached Optschina, and, though heaven and earth wore but a lugubrious aspect, I was delighted to look down again upon Italy and the Adriatic. The firmly constructed road that wound down along the mountains presented the most varied points of view. Of spring there was no trace, if I except the appearance of grass, and the blossoms of the apricot trees. My room in the Locanda Grande has a view over the harbour and the sea, and well pleased I am to have got into port again. If those who envy me had been as handsomely jolted and kept awake as I have been, during three days and three nights, to say nothing of the inclemency of the weather, I believe most of them would feel inclined to turn back and join Nikolai's party.

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## LETTER II.

## Reception at Trieste.

Trieste, March 25.

FROM Berlin to Trieste my journey has been none of the most pleasant, but here my real task may be said to begin; and if I may judge of all Italy by Trieste, it is impossible to hope for a better reception. Consuls and merchants, men of business and men of learning, nay, even ladies, are emulous to do every thing in their power to make my stay agreeable. I hear, see, and learn more in an hour, than a stranger relying on hotel-keepers and ciceroni would be able to do during a prolonged residence. My inquiries relative to Trieste have already brought me in such a rich harvest, that I feel I must digest the matter, and compare my notes with those I shall make on Venice, before I shall be able to reduce the whole into any form.

In the new town, and the greater part of it is new, the streets are straight, sufficiently spacious, and extremely well paved. Yesterday was Palm-Sunday, and crowds of country people were parading about, with olive branches and portogalli. The men were mostly in warm caps and brown coats. In the costume of the women I saw nothing to

remark, unless it be their extremely high-quartered shoes, covering nearly the whole instep, (probably a protection on the stony roads) and a white kerchief thrown over the head, and falling down behind.

### LETTER III.

View of Venice—Venice—St. Mark's—Pieta—Archives—  
Celebration of Easter—Music.

Venice, March 28.

On Tuesday the 26th, at eleven in the evening, the steamer started with favourable weather from Trieste. After a sound sleep, undisturbed by sickness, I was on deck at daybreak, and saw the sun rising from the sea, and making Venice glorious with his beams.

Three times already, and now for the fourth time, Venice has made a mighty, an irresistible impression upon me; one that baffles comparison. The objects that present themselves, and the thoughts and feelings that they excite, are different here to what they are in any other place in the world. Heaven and earth, life and death, the tasteful and the tasteless, the past, the present, and the future, meet here in a way peculiar to the place. Much is *out* of all rule, much *contrary* to all rule,

but then there is so much that is *beyond* all rule. When the stranger coming from the Lido sees the Palace of the Doge, the columns, the Piazzetta, the Campanile, the Orologio, and St. Mark's, with the many other marvels rising from the sea; who is there, that, in such a moment of joy, surprise, and enthusiasm, can descend to criticise columns and the position of windows! For my own part, at least, thank Heaven! I am no such stockfish; as little now, as twenty-two years ago.

On landing, I was forced to provide for the usual exigencies of a traveller; and, carefully avoiding the more expensive hotels, I repaired to the Luna, recommended to me by those whose means coincided with my own. I demanded, what in Venice bears a double signification, a light room, even though it might be high up on its way towards heaven. I was shown such a one; but so low that a person of the height of our nephew, even without the amplification of the military head-dress, could not have moved about otherwise than on his knees. I therefore lowered myself in order to heighten the room. The next that was shown me proved in every way unobjectionable. It was clean and suitably furnished, with a view over the Governor's garden, the only one within the city; and from the window the sun might be seen every morning rising from the sea. I was in no way surprised to hear the

landlord declare that this room would be a dear one; and, in spite of my enthusiasm, I was resolving to act with resolution, and stand out for an abatement. But when the man demanded only about two-thirds of a florin per day, all my hostile intentions evaporated, and I briefly and sincerely replied that I was satisfied.

Guided by a valet-de-place through the labyrinth of the city, I have been sowing a multitude of letters of recommendation, and hope to see them yield me an abundant harvest.

Friday, March 29.

I detain my letter, as you have had news of me from Trieste, and my matter for report may prove meagre, unless I write about things that are known to every body. Yet why pedantically forbear from all mention of these, when impressions and ideas come crowding upon the mind? St. Mark's church, for instance, reminds one certainly of St. Sophia's, at Constantinople, but, on the other hand, has so much that is original, contains so many peculiar works of art, and is erected amid so many extraordinary surrounding objects, that, after all the books already written about it, abundant materials may be found for as many more. Less imposing than St. Peter's, less solemn than the cathedral of Milan, St. Mark's may, nevertheless, say *anch' io*

*son chiesa!* and will go unconquered, nay, in some respects unequalled, from the conflict. Yesterday evening I saw the church lighted up, and beheld in reality what is seldom seen, except as a theatrical decoration. On the one side, the pomp, solemnity, and festivity of Catholicism, together with its outward evidences of faith, impress the mind strongly, but on the other side, I was disturbed, as I have often been before, by the chattering, the running to and fro, I may almost say the bawling, of the clergy. More purely sounded the choir as it struck in at intervals. A handsome well-dressed girl knelt before a small picture of a saint, that was preserved under a glass case. I was about, in spite of all my protestantism, to commend, nay, to envy her zeal and faith; but when I saw her spit upon her handkerchief, and wipe the glass, preparatory to kissing it, the whole Fata Morgana, I must own, vanished in a moment.

Thence I went to the Pietà, where, according to custom, I heard some very mediocre compositions sung in a very mediocre manner. The old custom of beating timeloud enough to be heard throughout the whole church is still persevered in; and yet the first singer and her followers were seldom together. I hastened into the open air, where heaven and earth were executing more harmonious melodies. The sun had sunk in purple magnificence behind Santa

Maria della Salute; and the Canale Grande reflected more darkly and soberly the picture presented by the sky. In the east, the moon with her pale coronet of beams was just rising above Lido, while, by her side, Jupiter was glowing in all his brightness, and immediately over the Campanile, Venus was moving along at a measured pace. When I turned from this glorious spectacle above me, to look upon the ragged, screaming, wrangling, crowd that moved around, a feeling of humiliation came over me.

Saturday, March 30.

St. Mark's and the Piazzetta are the paradise of Venice; and then follows, on almost every side, the purgatory, and that in a medicinal, much more than in a theological, sense. From the paradise, at least, the Austrians have succeeded in expelling Italian filth.

I will not fatigue you with the names of those whom I have visited, or who have visited me. I have learned something from both, and expect to learn more. The Easter holidays, in the meantime, have somewhat interfered with my investigations.

The evening before last, I was agreeably entertained in the family circle of Mr. T——, where I had again an opportunity of convincing myself that there are German as well as Italian dialects, which

are unintelligible to me. Yet I am a *homo doctissimus* in comparison with some travellers whom I meet with. I saw a German here the other day, who knew very little French and no Italian !

The body fares worse here than the mind. I was directed to a *trattoria*, as of superior excellence, where I found the cooking so wretched that I could taste but little, and that little made me sick. In the Europa I was rather better off, but even that was nothing to boast of. To-day our bill of fare consisted of *soupe maigre*, flavoured with cheese ; dried fish, something like smelts ; sinewy beef, with turnips ; boiled mutton of a stony hardness, garnished with sour potatoes, &c. : a plate of roast beef would have been ten times more welcome to me than the whole succession of ill-conceived, ill-arranged, and ill-dressed dishes ; and for a mess of good broth, I would have cheerfully parted with my whole birthright of fame. The said fame, by the by, flickered up, I fear, for the last time at Trieste, like the light of an expiring candle. More than once I have had my attention called to the fact, that I am the oldest and grayest of all the travellers around me ; and everybody seems to wonder why I did not remain quietly and contentedly at home. When I tell them I wish to inform myself respecting civic institutions, excise on meat, street police, mendicity, infant schools, &c.;



the rejoinder is on every lip, whether I might not have learned these things at home. My wish to examine the archives of Venice appears to be regarded as a more plausible excuse. Yesterday I saw this collection for the first time. It is a collection arranged in a countless succession of rooms and halls, and so voluminous that millions of worms may feed on it for centuries to come, and a thousand literary gluttons would be unable to read it through in a thousand years. There was a time when such a spectacle would have made me grieve over the limited nature of human powers ; but I have grown bolder, and now, in presence of all this paper wisdom, I rather grieve over human folly. The arrangement, upon the whole, appears to be excellent ; but the contents, and the value of each individual part, remain a *terra incognita*, never likely to be explored by the few literary navigators appointed to the service. The masses will probably remain for a long time in a state of profitless neglect, till accident, or some disciple of Caliph Omar, destroys the whole. The nibbling here and there of a few Berlin professors is hardly worth mentioning. If the contents were really all matter of history, and it were decreed that a *Professor Historiarum* must be acquainted with them all, I should have a right to claim as long a lease of life as that of the wandering Jew. Only four volumes, however, fall within the period of my Hohenstau-

fen, and a great part of their contents has already been printed. I hope that I shall be able to find time for a closer inspection.

Sunday, March 31.

The music at St. Mark's, to-day, this being Easter Sunday, was executed partly by professional musicians, and went off better than on my previous visits, when theology had to supply its place. For the first time, owing to the immense numbers assembled, I was seriously annoyed by the fumes of garlic, which could not by any means be brought to harmonize with the incense.

In the afternoon, I went to the public garden. No gentry, but an immense crowd. I saw nothing remarkable, unless it be the singular costume of the female water-carriers. Some of the young girls were pretty and *piquant*, but I saw no distinguished beauty among them. Neither music, nor eating, nor drinking, nor dancing, but abundance of screaming. The Venetian dialect in all its glory ; soft, so far, at least, that *ce* and *ci* are pronounced *se* and *si*, but unmelodious, on account of the swallowing and clipping of so many syllables and vowels. It bears to the Roman-Florentine the same relation that Portuguese does to Spanish. There may be a little pedantry in Florence, but it is fortunate, nevertheless, that Italian is not broken up into a multitude of different dialects, all enjoying

equal rights; it is well that there should be one *altioris indaginis*, to retain the literary supremacy.

In the evening, having wrapped myself well up in furs, I went in a gondola to the Giudeca, and returned by the Canale Grande. Some of the buildings along the latter have been cleaned up, and wear a habitable look; but what are these compared with the many, for the maintenance of which the means are wanting! There was a time when palaces rose from the sea as if by magic; when they were adorned by countless works of art, and made brilliant by costly entertainments; and now, it is matter to be noticed, if a few broken windows are mended, or if an invalid door be replaced upon its hinges. A thousand causes are assigned for this; the chief, according to many, is the laziness of the population; and is not idleness the origin of every vice, and thus the first cause of poverty?

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#### LETTER IV.

Tombola—Procession—Democracy of 1797—Churches—  
Pictures—Ateneo—Dante.

Venice, April 1.

THIS day month I left Berlin. How much of agreeable and disagreeable have I not experienced since then, and yet I am but on the threshold of

Italy ! Of this fact I was reminded this morning by my thermometer, which stood at only nine degrees above zero, (52° Fahrenheit,) in my room, and at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  (42° F.) in the open air. My open fire occasions more draught than it dispenses warmth ; my furs, therefore, have generally to supply the absence of a stove, and, thus fortified, I patiently await the later hours of the day. The Italians, it appears to me, are able to endure more heat and cold than we of the North. Yesterday evening, for instance, at the Casino, where I was introduced by Mr. T——, not a single room had a fire in it, though it was so cold that in Germany there would have been a general outcry. About nine hundred ladies and gentlemen were assembled at the game of Lotto, around the *tombola*. Of this game, I hear, they are passionately fond. Each person buys a tablet, marked with fifteen numbers, between one and ninety. The player, whose fifteen numbers are first drawn, receives a sum of money as a prize, (yesterday, about 40 florins ;) and the two following prizes consist of articles likely to be serviceable to ladies. At half past ten the drawing began, and by far the greater part of the ninety numbers had been drawn before any one of the players had covered the fifteen squares. In about an hour the last prize had been won and lost ; for, of course, all lost, with the exception of three, and the emotions

excited by the game developed themselves, when many covered twelve, thirteen, or even fourteen of their numbers, and yet in the end went empty-handed away.

Of beauties, such as the old Venetian school presents to us, nothing was to be seen. The race, I was told by one, is completely extinct. Yet, at Bruges, at Florence, and at Rome, faces and forms, like those immortalized in their respective schools, may yet be seen walking about in the streets.

Wednesday, April 3.

The holidays, which brought nothing very remarkable with them, except that they interrupted the general course of business, are now over, and shops, collections, libraries, and private parties are again open. A votive procession of marines on Sunday displayed a singular mixture of military and religious exercises. When the host came by, I took off my hat, like the rest, without hesitation; but I did feel some hesitation as to whether I ought to look upon the doctrine of transubstantiation as a profound mystery of faith, or as the extreme of absurdity to which bigotry can go. Lord, help my unbelief!

I am now studying most diligently the Lombardy code; and, among other important matters, I have there found that the Homoeopathy of Dr. Nahremann (sic) is prohibited, and that children are not to read the *Conversations-Lexikon*, nor to be guilty of cer-

tain dirty tricks. These ordinances, however, are mere dead letter; the former, that respecting Hahnemann, has been revoked, and the latter is daily set at defiance by young and old.

Friday, April 5.

Wherever I come, Count S—, upon the strength of Prince M—'s recommendation, has prepared the way for me, so that I every where meet with the most obliging reception. Such was yesterday the case at the Archives. Respecting the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there exist only two or three volumes, which I was able to look through in a few hours. Considering the shortness of the time, however, I collected a very tolerable harvest. I found a treaty concluded between the Venetians and Manfred, in which I recognized all the principles of the English navigation laws; a treaty between Gregory IX. and Venice, having for its object a war against, and a partition of, the Sicilian dominions; and lastly, a deed of Conradin's, by which he recognizes Manfred as guardian and sovereign of Apulia. Thus was I transported from the present back to the time of my Hohenstaufens.

On all sides I hear complaints of the ruthless manner in which the treasures of art and literary antiquity were dealt with here in the days of French freedom. The soldiers quartered at San Giorgio, for instance, were in the constant habit of paying a

book for their passage across the Great Canal, which book was immediately carried by the gondolier to be sold as waste paper at the nearest chandler's shop.

I turned over the laws and ordinances of the democratic republic of Venice of the year 1797. What intoxication of hope, what unbounded delight, what extravagance of declamation ! And how soon was this fool's paradise abandoned as a prey to robbery, plunder, free-quarters, forced contributions, the scorn of the French, and the grasping hand of Bonaparte ! Yet the illusion was not dispelled ; the man was still an object of admiration, and the *destinées* of Venice were not yet *accomplies*. A parody on the Creed, referring to the Directory, was printed on the 16th of April, 1797, and is sufficiently remarkable and characteristic of the times to serve as an excuse for my inserting it here.

*Libertà Eguaglianza. Credo Republicano.*

Credo nella Repubblica francese una e indivisibile, Creatrice dell' Uguaglianza e della libertà.

Credo nel General Bonaparte, suo figlio unico, difensore nostro, il quale fu conceputo da gran spirito, nacque da madre virtuosissima. Patì sopra monti e colli, fu da tiranni vilipeso e sepolto. Discese nel Piemonte, il terzo di risuscitò in Italia. Sali in Mantova, ed ora siede alla destra di Vienna, capitale dell' Austria. Di là hada venire a giudicare i violenti aristocrati.

Credo nello spirito della Generalità francese e del Direttorio di Parigi, la distruzione de' nemici della virtù niuna remissione alla tirannia la risurrezione del diritto naturale dell' Uomo, la futura pace, libertà, eguaglianza, fratellanza eterna ; così sia !

The day of this political fanaticism is not yet gone by. Do we not still meet with many, in whose eyes the intrigues and outrages of Paris pass for the highest point of *développement humain*, as the noblest pledge of genuine liberty? Admirably did Nothomb, at Brussels, speak the truth with respect to the relations of France to Belgium and Germany, showing what it is that causes the *ennui* of the French, without excepting even the maudlin, pious, impracticable Lamartine. That Villiers would fail in his attempt to procure the abolition of the corn-laws, I foretold to him repeatedly in my own room. That is not the way to set about it. I repeatedly maintained, in 1835, that the vote for members of Parliament, given to the farmers, had strengthened the landed aristocracy more than the destruction of the rotten boroughs had weakened them. This the veriest sceptics must now admit.

Sunday, April 7.

When I look back on the very different nature of my occupations on each of the four occasions on which I have visited Venice, I am forced to admit that I must myself have changed much more than the objects now around me. All that I now seek for with such eagerness occupied not one of my thoughts in 1816. At that time I ran after all those things that are usually deemed most attractive to



travellers. In the same way, however, in which I then quitted the prescribed limits, to investigate the *Past* among books, manuscripts, and the monuments of art, even so have I now extended them yet further, to make myself acquainted with the *Present*, on a more comprehensive scale. Without Prince Metternich, however, and his trusty spirits, my zeal and good-will would have carried me no great way; whereas, now, treasures come pouring in upon me from all sides, and from the purest sources. I am not now labouring with limited forces, but may look upon myself as a chief, who has numbers at his command; perhaps a more true and less arrogant simile would be, to liken myself to a student, to whom men better informed than himself are, on all sides, ready to afford assistance.

Many, I fear, will censure my present occupations as of an inferior order, and will maintain that I have myself deteriorated in becoming indifferent to the highest point of human development—the fine arts. Such, however, I have not become. I have again contemplated churches, statues, and pictures, with the liveliest interest, and could talk about them as long and as learnedly as those who feel them less, understand them as little, and have not seen as many; but when I daily find people talking nonsense about things on which I have expended much time and labour, and of which I believe I do under-

stand something, I feel apprehensive of allowing myself to be betrayed into similar mistakes. Waagen ought to be here, and then, as once in England, we would endeavour, by our united endeavours, to produce something. *Suum cuique.*

Nevertheless, I am not inclined to pass these things over altogether in silence. St. Mark's, with its poetic, rule-defying originality, must occupy the first place. St. Sophia rose from another soil, and *duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem*. San Paolo and San Giovanni are large and striking, but in their exterior do not preserve a happy medium between the different systems of architecture. We have pillars, for instance, with arches over them, and over those a wall, and the pillars connected by wooden beams with the inner and outer nave, and with the side columns. This wooden tackle is assuredly a defect. I do not like the broken façade of San Giorgio Maggiore. The sides are squeezed together without beauty or ornament. In the interior I recognize the cheerful style of St. Peter's, though of an inferior order. The dome of Maria della Salute is handsome, but much inferior to those of Florence and Rome. I find it difficult to reconcile myself to the huge volutes, intended to strengthen and support the dome. How much more beautiful are the means by which the same object is attained in Cologne and Milan.

The Academy of the Fine Arts.—I have been told of a superlative connoisseur, who is said to have ascertained that the distinctive characteristics of the Venetian school are harshness and ruggedness. I adhere to the old and more intelligible creed, that they are to be found in the colouring and the flesh. The drawings of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Leonardo, show the unwearied industry of those masters. They did not imagine that beauty could be embodied on the canvass by a miracle; no, they made a succession of designs, placed a limb, or the fold of a drapery, sometimes in this position, sometimes in that, until gradually they came near to perfection, if they did not attain it. Genius is a gift of Heaven; but industry is one which every man may owe to himself. The rich and beautifully arranged collection of statues and casts has been enriched by the great London marbles. In comparison with these noble forms of Phidias, the Apollo and the small Venus from Naples appear like—but I pause, that I may not place myself upon the same line with Kotzebue.

The progress of the Arts, as of science and state-policy, is evident, and yet it is a mystery. How is it that the human mind, or how is it that a community of many human minds, after having attained with much labour to beauty, perfection, and taste, in the best sense of those words, can gradually wean

themselves from it, and find delight in ugliness, distortion, the nauseous, and the insipid? Thus, for instance, I am at a loss to account for the series of Venetian churches, descending, during a succession of centuries, from the rich and fanciful St. Mark's to the craziest tawdriness of embellishment, or to a naked bareness, that makes them fit for little else than stables and barns.

Do we not, in our own age, behold the same, if not in painting and architecture, at least in poetry and music? You will certainly not blame me for avoiding the infliction of hearing Donizetti's *Emma di Vergy* executed by a very mediocre company. It is a cup which I have already too often been obliged to swallow to the dregs.

I made a discovery a few days ago, which, if it could be taken as an omen applicable to my whole journey, ought to make me hurry home again, ashamed of having forgotten Göthe's proverb—*Das Gute liegt so nah*, &c. I had been wearying myself in searching all over the city for a place where I could get something tolerable to eat and drink. At last, in utter despair, I ordered a dinner at my own hotel, the *Luna*, and found it incomparably better than any I had been able to obtain elsewhere. Some German had told me the *cuisine* of the house was bad; and I, in my simplicity, forgot the old saying, "Try all things." The wine, to be sure,

continues *nostrano*, but the bill-of-fare will hold me fast, particularly as I can now dine at my own time. I have not, indeed, made any agreement, but I shall pay my bill without much grumbling; and, even should they overcharge me, I shall console myself with the reflection that I should have paid at least double in Berlin; and besides, may I not place my escape from a daily indigestion to the credit side of the account? Our friend H—— shall explain to us, one of these days, why, after good wine and a good dinner, even though composed of a variety of dishes, I feel well and in good spirits, whereas a single plate of bad food puts me out of tune. He will probably assign a multitude of physiological causes; but I look at the matter from a refined and moral point of view. Good taste is in itself meritorious, and meets with its reward; but bad food reduces a man nearer to the level of a beast, and is punished accordingly.

During the twelve days that I have now spent in Venice, there has been no change in the appearance of the garden under my window. The grass and plants, in consequence of storms and cold weather, look even worse than they did on my arrival. Every body pronounces the weather to be most extraordinary; but one meets so often and in so many places with extraordinary kinds of weather, that I have begun to think extraordinary weather only another term for disagreeable weather.

Tuesday, April 9.

I was yesterday introduced by Mr. Q—— at the Ateneo, a kind of Venetian academy. Professor Paravia, from Turin, read an interesting and well-written essay on Dante, and proved :—that Beatrice was not merely a creature of imagination, but a maiden with whose memory, particularly after her death, Dante associated much that was beautiful and allegorical. And why should she not appear to him as the picture and conception of all that was wise and good ? The lecturer likewise proved that Dante, notwithstanding the severity of his character, and his imaginative fidelity, was in love at least three times in his life, and in support of this trio of all good things there appeared to be no lack of arguments. M. Paravia dwelt also on the difficulty of distinguishing Dante's genuine lyrics from the spurious ones that went under his name; but even the genuine ones, he maintained, would not place the poet more than on a level with many of the lyric writers of his own time. The *Commedia Divina* it was that first enabled Dante to step into a higher sphere, and to make it his own. We were next treated with the judgment of the Ateneo on the book of a Bologna physician, who had attributed the origin of the cholera to certain exceedingly minute animals. A few only of the judges declared themselves in favour of this *beastly theory*;

but the majority adhered to the belief in stench, filth, and other chemical agreeables of the same kind.

At eight this evening I shall start for Milan. I am not in the least at a loss what to do with my cloak, furs, and foot-bag. Even in my room I have them on, and shall retain them till my fire raises the thermometer above 8° (50° F.) Outside the window it is scarcely so high as 4° (41° F.). In Milan, they tell me, the cold is yet more severe; but I place great faith in the progressive advance of the almanac. At the infant school, the said almanac was very circumstantially explained the other day. All went well till the mistress asked one of the boys in what season of the year we were now. He answered stoutly:—"In winter." I entirely agreed with him.

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### LETTER V.

Italy in general—Extent of Trieste—Population—Woods—History of the City—French Domination—Return of the Austrians—Finances—Taxation—Clergy—Schools—Commerce—Exchange—Lloyd—Navigation—Commercial Treaties—Imports and Exports—Commercial Laws—Civic Institutions.

Venice, March 28.

You justly complain that, notwithstanding the endless number of books that have been written

about it, we have still a very insufficient knowledge of Italy ; but is it not quite natural that this should be the case, when most travellers only describe the first impression made upon them by the loudly abused or extravagantly admired country, of which they write rather as lyrists and satirists, than as historians? Hence, endless repetitions of well-known facts, obtained from the most worthless authorities. The majority of travellers, moreover, have to depend upon local guides and ciceroni : should it be in my power to communicate anything more instructive, the merit will not be mine, but will belong to those to whom I am indebted for such powerful recommendations, and to those who received me with such distinguished kindness, and manifested in their solicitude to afford me every possible information, so obliging a zeal that no words of mine can sufficiently express my gratitude. For the information I have obtained, I willingly acknowledge myself a debtor.

The elegiac exclamation, *Italy is a ruin!* with which so many close their accounts of the country, had long ago excited my doubts quite as much as my sympathy. You are aware that the wish to confirm or remove my foregone conclusion on this subject formed the chief inducement to my present journey, in the same way that a similar motive drove me formerly to England. Now, the different



portions of Italy vary so much from one another, with respect to soil, population, and public institutions, that it is impossible to expect the same results from all. I shall, therefore, have to speak, on different occasions, of improvement, of deterioration, and of a stationary condition. That the commencement may be at once easy and gratifying, and the improvement unquestionable, allow me to consider Trieste as belonging to Italy, and to place before you a few important facts relative to that remarkable town. My information has been obtained from the most authentic sources, and if you wish to enter more into details, I may refer you to Costa's work on the Free port of Trieste. It is a book to which I thankfully own myself much indebted; but since its publication there is much that deserves to be added; and, besides, different men have different ideas, and contemplate the same object from different points of view.

Whenever I enter the Austrian empire, I am reminded of the spirit of the middle ages. "Of something superannuated, accordingly, of something in itself wrong and absurd!" will be the exclamation of many. Have these censors, however, really taken the trouble to substitute judgment for prejudice, on the subject of ancient and modern times? Is an intricate organization a proof of inferiority in the domain either of nature or of the

human mind? Shall a worm rank higher than a man, because of simpler anatomy and physiology, and because less marked by conflicting characteristics? To the political wisdom of modern France, no doubt, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, appeared so many abortions of disorder and absurdity. According to that school, the only principle of regeneration and improvement is to bring every time-honoured institution to the bed of Procrustes. All that was living, national, local, or provincial, disappeared before the iron hands that were covered with the gloves of liberty. There was to be but one head, nor were any distinctive functions assigned to the several limbs; one centralizing *capitale du monde*, regardless whether the world around sunk more and more into death or not. Many of the heroes of liberty, in our own day, know of no better principle; and if even Talleyrand were nothing but a cunning, though broken-down, pupil of the Roman Macchiavelli, the wisdom of many little beings that pretend to his inheritance is nothing but a flimsy scheme of the driest bureaucracy.

These remarks, which might easily be greatly extended, are not out of place here. The statesman, of whom I have already made mention more than once, acts upon principles diametrically opposite to those of the French school. He sees in the maintenance of local peculiarities the strength and

spirit of the Austrian empire, at the same time that he carefully removes all that is really morbid and obsolete. Only things that are *distinct* from one another can be *united*.

What Trieste was under French domination, compared with what it has become under the Austrian government, affords an instructive example by which to judge the two systems. Trieste and its dependent territory belong to the government of the maritime provinces, which, previously to a few recent changes that I cannot here stop to enter upon, contained 33 cities, 21 market towns, and 1806 villages. The area, according to the new *cadastre* (reckoning the *Joch* or yoke as equal to 1600 square *klafters*—fathoms) contains, of land under cultivation:—

In Trieste, (I only give round numbers),	Joch.
	15,000
In the circle of Görz	465,000
In Istria	811,000
	<hr/>
	1,291,000
Add land not under cultivation	91,000
	<hr/>
Total	1,382,000
	<hr/>
The gross produce, according to the latest estimate, is calculated at	Florins.
	8,344,000
The net produce at	3,857,000

The average produce per Joch (fractions omitted) has been calculated——

Trieste, gross produce	19 fl.	net produce	7 fl.
Istria        „        „	5        „        „	2        43 kr.	
Görz        „        „	7        „        „	3        18	

Hence the relative difficulties with which agriculture has to struggle may be estimated. Yet the population, per Austrian square mile of 10,000 square Joch, amounted, in 1827—

In the circle of Görz . . . . . 2414

And in Istria to . . . . . 3545

or including Trieste, to about 420,000; a sufficient proof of the facility with which the means of living are obtained in the south, and of the importance of Trieste as a commercial city. The rent of land in Görz and Istria is estimated at about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the produce.

The territory of Trieste, properly speaking, includes an area of only one (German) square mile and six-tenths (about thirty-five English square miles); and, in spite of the magnificent views from the mountains and from the sea, the whole of the land would be of little value were it not for the town and its trade. If, therefore, land, in certain parts of the town, sells for 200 to 250 florins the square *klafter* (fathom), and on one occasion is known to have fetched the enormous price of seven hundred florins; and if the owners of houses are even then able to realize from six to seven per

cent. interest on their capital; this is owing to local circumstances, which, in their turn, are caused by the active industry of the population.

Yet I should be disposed to deny the general position, that nature has been so very niggardly of her favours to the country round Trieste. Any thing more barren, more dismal, more desolate, than the stony plains on the heights, can scarcely, I admit, be found in any part of Europe; and no storm-wind, certainly, can be more formidable than the notorious Bora. But, was it always so? Did the stones always project so far and in such wild disorder from the soil, that soil can hardly be said to exist? Could the Bora always range along, without let or hindrance, with its seven-league wings? I am almost tempted to answer these questions at once in the negative. The selfishness and improvidence of man, by destroying the ancient forests, deprived the land of its natural shelter. The rain then washed away the soil when wet, and the wind blew it away when dry. Thus it was, that the stones rose farther and farther above the surface, and, the land stripped of its trees, not even grass and moss could long keep their ground. There are many other countries of Europe, not excepting several parts of Italy, that have made the same painful experience. M. Rossini has adduced historical proofs, to show that the heights of Trieste

were once covered with forest ; in some places the trees still remain ; and, wherever a handful of mould is to be found, there is no want either of trees or bushes. These, with care, might be made the nucleus of a new vegetation, provided the country were not abandoned to the cattle. Let the people of Trieste turn their attention to their hills, up which their country-seats are already ascending higher and higher. Restore the trees, and not only would the landscape be improved, and the land increased in value, but a check would be given to the furious impetuosity of the Bora.

The number of agriculturists cannot be large in the territory of Trieste ; but what there are of them are mostly, like those of Istria, the owners of the land they cultivate. They would be wretchedly poor, owing to the barrenness of the soil, were it not that the town affords them such various means of adding to their income by working as masons, carriers, porters, &c.

From 949 till 1382 we find Trieste independent, though in feud with many of its neighbours. In 1382, the city placed itself voluntarily under the protection of Austria. Both parties believed that they should promote their own interests by the obligations which they mutually took upon them, and the conditions then agreed to have only been altered from time to time by common consent.

The constitution has much that reminds one of that of Venice.

In 1717, Trieste was declared a free port by Charles VI., and the ordinance of that year was farther extended by several laws promulgated under Maria Theresa. The power of the captain of the city was changed ; and, the civic institutions yielding to those of the state, the whole assumed more and more of an Austrian character. Many privileges, however, remained in full force. Among these were—exemption from excise, from military service, and from having soldiers billeted in the town ; a free importation, and a low tax on transit and exportation ; some other judicial and commercial advantages ; taxation by the city authorities only, and a limitation of the payment to the state to 16,000 florins annually.

On the 16th of May, 1809, the French entered Trieste, and left it again on the 8th of November, 1813. It is the more necessary to speak of the character and consequences of their domination, as so many people now-a-days, to show their sagacity and penetration, are, or pretend to be, dissatisfied with the present ; and, in this mood, forgetting that all human institutions must naturally be imperfect, overlook altogether the dark sides of a former state of things. Acting upon the conviction, everywhere put forward, that there was only one right course,

and that this could be no other than that most recently sanctioned by France; the entrance of the French into Trieste was immediately followed by the abolition of all ancient laws, treaties, and institutions, and every thing was thenceforward to be regulated in the true Napoleon spirit of despotism. A poll-tax was introduced, without being divided into classes; this was accompanied by land-tax, customs, excise, stamps, office-fees, conscription, and the billeting of soldiers. The freedom of the port was exchanged for the continental system; merchandize was seized and burnt; prices fell; and forced loans, war-taxes, and the arrest of merchants, became the order of the day. The consequence of all this was, that sixty-one mercantile houses stopped payment between 1809 and 1811; the number of ships belonging to the port fell from 900 to 200; the yearly commercial transactions decreased from between thirteen and fourteen to between two and three millions of florins; and the population, which in 1808 amounted to 40,000, had in 1812 already declined to 20,000.

When the Austrians returned to Trieste, in 1813, many of the French institutions were abolished, some retained, and a few new ones introduced. The poll-tax, the tax on trades, the greater part of the taxes on consumption, and the greater part of the stamp-duties, were done away with; the exemp-



tion from military service, and from the billeting of soldiers, and, above all, the freedom of the port, were restored.

Many, no doubt, wished for a simple return to the institutions of the middle ages, or, at all events, for a limitation to 16,000 florins, of all their pecuniary obligations to the state; but was such a return really possible? Would it have been just to the other portions of the Austrian monarchy? It was only to a connection with Austria, that Trieste could look for the revival of her prosperity; whereas Austria, in possession of Venice and Fiume, could very easily have dispensed with Trieste. The duty of the government was to make the interest of the city go hand in hand with that of the empire; and this task was fulfilled upon principles wholly antigallican, by recognizing the force of local circumstances, without allowing them to stand in the way of the unity of the state. Thus the authorities of the city were entrusted with the whole financial government of their townspeople. As before, a limited sum is paid annually; not indeed limited to 16,000 florins, for it now amounts to 500,000 florins, including 60,000 for the abolished poll and trade tax; 80,000 for the former land-tax; and 350,000 in lieu of customs and excise. The town has, nevertheless, gained greatly by being relieved from the French system of government, and is much

better able now to pay the larger than it formerly was to pay the smaller sum. A sufficient proof of this is afforded by the astonishing development of wealth and commerce, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

Singular as is the financial position of Trieste, in relation to the empire at large, its own system of taxation is not less singular. The whole taxation of the city amounts to about a million of florins, and, of these, more than half is obtained by a duty on wine. I hope that I may not be deemed tedious, if I endeavour to explain this more fully to you.

Since the fourteenth century, a tax on the consumption of wine, (*dazio educilio*) has formed the chief source of the revenue of the city. In 1769, a second tax on the importation of wine, (*dazio dei poveri*) was imposed, to obtain a fund for the support of poor-houses and hospitals. This second tax was, in 1829, raised from one florin to two florins per *eimer*. In that year, indeed, many new arrangements were submitted to, in order to avoid the introduction of the Austrian system of finance, which would be altogether unsuitable for Trieste. These two florins, together with a market-toll of three krenzers per *eimer*, are paid by all those who lay in or import wine in large quantities. The *dazio educilio* is paid on the retail of wine in quantities of less than half an *eimer*, and amounts to 22½ per cent. on the value. On fresh and pressed

grapes, a proportionate tax is also imposed, to prevent an evasion of the duty.

The intention was to have extended this duty of 22½ per cent. to all spirituous liquors; but this, it was found, would be attended with many difficulties in a free port: an arrangement was, therefore, made between the privileged dealers and the farmers of the tax, for a certain payment calculated on the average consumption.

Beer, whether foreign or of home manufacture, pays one florin and twenty kreuzers per *eimer*; vinegar, merely a tax on measurement of three kreuzers per *eimer*. Oil and all other liquids are free.

The tax on wine is calculated to amount to 25 per cent. on the wholesale, and to 89 per cent. on the retail trade. This tax, together with that on spirituous liquors, is farmed out for a yearly sum of 565,600 florins. The whole consumption of wine may amount to one hundred and eighty thousand *eimer*,\* a large quantity for the population.

The working classes, it is supposed, drink about one half of the wine consumed within the city, and are consequently much more heavily taxed by the *dazio educilio* than their more wealthy fellow-citizens; still, the whole community have so long been accustomed to the arrangement, that no complaints

\* The *orna* or *eimer* of Trieste is equal to about 12½ imperial gallons.—TR.

are heard. Besides, there is no want of employment, and the *educilio* and high rents afford a ready ground for a demand of high wages.

Negotiations are at present going on for a reform in the tax on wine and spirits, with a view to relieve the wine grown within the territory of Trieste from the additional florin imposed in 1829, and to cover the deficiency by an augmentation of the duty on spirits and beer. Such a privilege to the wine of Trieste, however, would be certain to excite bitter complaints in Istria, and the freedom of the port might be found inconsistent with such regulations as would be necessary to cover the deficit. The latter inconvenience may be remedied, perhaps, by an augmentation of the annual rent at which the taxes are farmed, the present contract expiring in three years.

Next to the tax on wine and spirits, that on meat is the most important. It is farmed out for 101,400 florins, and is levied at five avenues. It amounts:—

On oxen, bulls, cows, and on calves		
more than a year old, to.....		
	7fl	— kr. each.
On calves of less than a year old...	1	40
On sheep and goats... ..		24
On lambs and small pigs.....		15
On pigs between 9 and 35lbs.weight		45
On pigs weighing more than 35lbs.	1	30

children are not obliged to participate, if they produce a certificate to show that they receive religious instruction elsewhere, according to the tenets of their several creeds.

Owing to the general prosperity of the city, and the facility with which employment may be obtained, the maintenance of the poor occasions much less trouble than in many other places ; still, in this respect also, a very laudable activity is manifested. In 1817, a Society of Beneficence was formed, under the administration of sixteen deputies from the eight several sections of the city. The object chiefly in view was the suppression of street-begging ; and this is effected either by supplying the poor with work, or by affording them relief, either in the shape of food or money. Whoever can obtain work, and is equal to it, has no claim to any relief. Relief, in the shape of food, is never given for more than a fortnight at a time ; and consists usually of two pints of Rumford soup, and eight ounces of bread, a day. Beggars not belonging to the city, if too weak to work, are fed till they have gained strength, when employment is found for them, or they are sent to their homes. The sick are received into the hospitals. A list of the voluntary contributions to the fund is yearly printed and distributed.

Owing to the cholera and its consequences, the

individual merit of some of the clergy is admitted, a general complaint is made, that, as a body, they are in education and intelligence far below the level which might fairly be required.

A very reasonable wish prevails for the institution of an Italian normal school, in addition to the two German ones that already exist ; and for the establishment of a public school within the city, in order that parents may not be under the necessity of sending their children away from them. What the French did, in this respect, has fallen to the ground again ; and the Nautical Academy, which, since 1820, has grown out of the old school of commerce, turns education into one direction alone—a highly important one, no doubt, in a town like Trieste ; but still insufficient for general purposes. This academy contains rather more than one hundred pupils, and would probably number many more, were it not for a rule that requires all candidates to have spent five years in a normal school. The professors receive from 800 to 1,000 florins a year ; the other teachers, including language-masters, from 400 to 600 ; and the director, 1200. Commerce, navigation, naval architecture, and languages, form the chief objects of instruction. The pupils have from thirty to thirty-one school hours in a week. Religious instruction forms a part of the educational course, in which protestant and Jewish

view—the Exchange and the Austrian Lloyd. The Exchange, according to the law of the 18th of September, 1804, forms a central point of union for the whole commercial public. It is under the direction of six deputies, who are elected for three years, and each of whom undertakes the administration for six months. Only wholesale dealers can become members of the Exchange, and candidates rejected by the deputies have a right of appeal to the general assembly of all the members, where the question is decided by ballot. The deputation has charge of the revenues of the Exchange—acts as mediator between the government and the mercantile community—suggests questions for consideration—sees to the execution of decisions—examines brokers previously to their admission—communicates various kinds of commercial information, &c. In cases of an equality of votes, the senior deputy's opinion decides.

The whole body of members choose a consulta, or committee, of forty, to whom the deputation may submit important matters for deliberation. During the last week in December, the deputation delivers in to a general assembly an account of the year's administration. A lawyer is always ready to afford the deputation legal assistance. Many disputes may be brought for decision before the Exchange, such as relate to valuations, auctions, &c.; and these naturally become an additional source of income to

the institution. Every member, on being admitted, pays 40 florins entrance, and a yearly subscription to the same amount.

Another law of the 18th of September, 1804, determines the duties, privileges, and requisite information of brokers. The manner is distinctly prescribed in which they are to keep their books, these being liable to be called for as judicial evidence ; above all, brokers are strictly prohibited from engaging in trade, either directly or indirectly.

The Austrian Lloyd, as it is called, originated in 1838, and is divided into two chief sections. The one employs itself in collecting every kind of useful information respecting trade and navigation ; the other forms a steam-navigation company. Each section elects two members, in whom the general direction is vested, under the superintendence of a president, who remains in office only six months. The first section of the Lloyd keeps a list of all ships arriving and departing, and of all goods imported or exported ; communicates commercial news from all parts of the world, and possesses a fine collection of maps, charts, commercial treaties, laws respecting trade, &c. Each member of the Lloyd pays a subscription of 30 florins annually. Strangers are admitted upon easy terms. A commercial newspaper, connected with this institution, has been found extremely useful.



The Lloyd Steam Navigation Company owed its origin chiefly to the conviction that the revival of Egypt, the emancipation of Greece, the well-known events in Turkey, and a variety of other recent occurrences, had caused a great revolution in trade, and were preparing its return to the ancient channel. To this were attributed the exertions of England to establish steam-navigation on the Red Sea and the Euphrates, similar efforts on the part of France, the establishment of Austrian steam-boats on the Danube, &c. These circumstances, it was thought, would be certain to give a greater extension to the trade of the Mediterranean, and even to divert a portion of the trade of India to the Levant.

The capital (in the first instance a million of florins) was raised by shares, and a council of administration was chosen, consisting of a president and six directors. The president remains in office fifteen years; of the directors, one retires every year. All disputes between the company and one of its members must be decided, without appeal, by arbitrators chosen by the parties to the dispute. The coasting trade with steam-boats between Trieste and Venice, and between other Austrian ports, is secured to the company as a monopoly till the year 1842. Six steam-boats now run alternately to Ancona, Corfu, Patrasso, Candia, Athens, Sira, Smyrna, the Dar-

danelles, Constantinople, and Alexandria. The advantage of this institution, so far as the saving of time is concerned, may be estimated by the fact, that travellers may now reach Venice in nine hours, and Ancona in sixteen hours; so that Rome is brought within a distance of four days from Trieste, and Naples within a distance of six days. There cannot be a doubt that the number of travellers will go on increasing, and that the company will eventually reap the reward of their perseverance and enterprize. In the year 1838, the trips between Trieste and Venice amounted in number to 312, and the travellers to 14,288.

Independently of the great political importance of the commercial treaty concluded between England and Austria on the 3rd of July, 1838, it is certain to lead to useful results for the traders of both countries. Which may derive the greatest advantage, will depend less on the letter of the treaty than on the greater activity of one nation or the other. A perfect system of equality has not yet been adopted, nor, under existing circumstances, was it practicable; thus the productions of Asia, Africa, and America, cannot be imported directly, in Austrian ships, from all parts of the world; but they can be so imported from the Danube and from the Mediterranean ports. In the same way, the produce of those dis-

tant regions may be shipped for England, as soon as they have been previously brought into an Austrian port. The Austrian ships trading to Constantinople already exceed in number those of all other nations, and are continually increasing.

To show the growing prosperity of Trieste, I must trouble you with figures; these, however, are not dry and insignificant to an attentive observer, but, on the contrary, exceedingly eloquent and instructive.

The average annual importation into Trieste was,

	From 1816 to 1820.	From 1831 to 1835.	Increase per cent.
Coffee (Vienna cwt.)	42,542	163,198	383
Cotton .....	44,759	142,535	318
Corn (staii*) .....	817,879	907,604	111
Wool (cwt.).....	11,241	24,767	220
Oil (casks, 107 Vienna lbs. each).....	92,288	204,153	221
Sugar (cwt.) .....	130,731	378,588	289
			Tonnage.
Arrived in 1834	939 large vessels.....		183,767
... 1835	1691 .....		225,538
... 1836	1756 .....		251,531
... 1837	1731 .....		234,212
... 1838	1778 .....		229,478

If we add the coasting trade, the aggregate ton-

\* The *staiio* is equal to  $2\frac{24}{100}$  of Winchester bushels.

nage of the arrivals would stand, in round numbers, thus:—

1834 .....	324,000
1835 .....	305,000
1836 .....	330,030
1837 .....	313,000 (cholera year.)
1838 .....	363,000

Among the large vessels that arrived were:—

	In 1834.	In 1838.
Hamburg .....	—	5
American .....	47	39
Hanoverian ...	2	3
Austrian .....	475	583
Belgian .....	—	5
Brasilian .....	—	3
Bremen .....	3	6
Danish .....	3	19
French .....	12	12
Jerusalem.....	1	1
Greek .....	136	212
Ionian .....	13	32
English .....	127	136
Norwegian ...	—	17
Oldenburg ...	—	1
Dutch ..	8	13
Turkish .....	5	13
Roman .....	22	297 (including coasters in 1838.)

	In 1834.	In 1838.
Portuguese ...	—	5
Prussian .....	2	4
Russian .....	8	18
Swedish .....	8	18
Spanish .....	4	7
Sardinian .....	30	47
Samiot .....	—	1
Sicilian.....	31	274 (including coasters in 1838.)
Tuscan .....	2	7

The table just given shows the rate at which each nation has increased its traffic to Trieste.

To complete the review of the maritime traffic of Trieste, the Lloyd publishes the following table for 1838:—

		Aggregate Tonnage.
There entered inwards, large vessels carrying		
sails .....	1,778 ...	229,478
Ditto, steamers .....	28 ...	9,040
Large coasters carrying		
sails .....	2,529 ...	90,805
Ditto, steamers .....	166 ..	33,880
Small coasters.....	5,675 ...	131,875
	<hr/> 10,176 ..	<hr/> 495,078
The ships that sailed in the same year amounted to	10,121	489,912

The imports, in 1838, were—

Coffee .....	313,500 cwt.
Cotton .....	180,057 bales of 2 cwt. each.
Oats .....	32,681 stail.
Wheat .....	555,394
Indian corn .....	335,033
Barley .....	21,370
Rye .....	58,808
Flour .....	185,800 cwt.
Potatoes .....	131,050
Oil.....	205,950 eimer.
Sugar, refined ...	145,160 cwt.
Ditto, raw.....	403,490
Wool .....	20,141 bales.
Tea .....	300 chests.
Beer .....	10,430 casks.
Salt .....	169,481 cwt.
Tobacco .....	48,070
Sulphur .....	25,510
Wine .....	14,819 packages.

The prices of many goods vary so much that it is difficult to estimate the pecuniary value of the whole, but sugar is the most important article, and then follow, in succession, cotton, corn, coffee, oil, &c. The imports in 1838, it has been calculated, amounted in value in round numbers :—

From Brasil.....	to 9,000,000 florins.
France .....	3,000,000

Egypt .....	5,500,000 florins.
Turkey .....	7,200,000
Russia .....	3,500,000
England .....	8,400,000
Holland.....	2,800,000
North America...	3,500,000
Austrian coasting trade .....	9,900,000
Neapolitan and Si- cilian ditto.....	3,900,000
Roman coasting trade .....	850,000
Prussian.....	291,000
Trieste produce...	4,000,000
From the interior	15,000,000

The whole trade, by land and sea, for that year, is calculated to have amounted to 88,000,000 florins; whereas in 1800, it is supposed to have not exceeded 15,000,000. The natural advantages of Trieste and the remarkable activity of its population will lead, it is to be hoped, to a farther development of its commerce; but it is not to be denied that there are many artificial advantages, to which a change of circumstances might easily put an end. Thus, for instance, it seems strange that Trieste should supply the Levant with coffee, Apulia with sugar, England with cotton and corn, and Venice and Lombardy with colonial goods.

The export to Apulia is connected with a system of smuggling. The export of cotton to England proceeds from the circumstance that the Viceroy of Egypt has removed the *depôt* of his monopoly to Trieste, where the quarantine and disinfection are attended with least trouble.

That Trieste takes no part in speculations in public funds and shares must undoubtedly be considered an advantage for the place. Many wish to see a Bank established, for which, however, there does not as yet appear to be a sufficient surplus capital, and the want of a commercial code is universally complained of.

A new law, of the highest importance for Trieste, is that of the 22nd September, 1838, for regulating the government of the town. After the suppression of all the old communal institutions, it was necessary that something decided should be done in this respect ; and, compared with the previous state of things, the new law may certainly be regarded as a most gratifying step in advance. I will state the main points.

In addition to the magistracy of the city, a corporation has been established, to participate in the management of the city funds, and to give its opinion on many important questions connected with Trieste and its territory. This representative body is divided into the Great and Little Council. The



former consists of forty members. In the first instance, the magistracy and the individuals who till then had been considered to represent the town proposed eighty names, from among which the government was to make its selection. Of these candidates, sixty were to be owners of real property, and employing a capital of not less than 20,000 florins. The other twenty might be persons distinguished by personal acquirements, or who had taken an academic degree. Clergymen, public officers, minors, persons under criminal accusation, and bankrupts whose creditors had lost more than twelve per cent., are declared ineligible. The forty members were to remain in office six years, and then one-sixth to retire every year, but to be re-eligible; and it is understood that, without some very strong grounds, government will never refuse to confirm the election of the townspeople.

The Great Council chooses ten of its own body to form the Little Council. These ten continue one year in office. The Great Council meets once a year, under the presidency of the magistrates, to elect the Little Council—to audit the accounts of the preceding year—to deliberate on the ways and means of that next ensuing—to suggest measures likely to promote the welfare of the town—and to give an opinion on such questions as may be proposed for consideration.

The Little Council meets whenever the magistrates deem it expedient to call it together, and deliberates on the means of executing plans already adopted — on the administration of the several branches of the public revenue— on law proceedings to be instituted—on measures to be suggested to the government, &c. In case of a difference of opinion between the magistrates and the Council, an appeal lies to the Great Council, to whom questions of great importance may be referred, even when there is no want of agreement. At least thirty members of the Great Council must be present to form a quorum, and any member absenting himself three times, without some sufficient cause, ceases to belong to the board.

The townspeople, accordingly, have no direct voice in the election of their magistrates, who preside over the deliberations of a representative council, which is invested only with the right of giving its advice and opinion. Compared with the immunities of Prussian cities, those of Trieste are certainly very limited. All decisions come from the higher authorities, and the magistrates preserve a preponderating, and, it is to be hoped, a salutary influence ; but these new civic institutions are probably intended only as a commencement in the way of reform, and much is already gained by the creation of a legitimate channel for the expression of public opinion.

The cosmopolite spirit of the population, promoted by the congregation of so many wealthy and active individuals from all parts of the world, has put an end to every kind of aristocratic pride, idleness, and coxcombry. Every man in Trieste must work. This principle of equality promotes social intercourse, though this, on the other hand, is somewhat impeded by the want of a general language. The frequent habit of travelling, and of sending children to be educated in foreign countries, has the effect of destroying that *one-sidedness* of information which prevails in so many commercial towns; thus it may be hoped that science and the arts will strike deeper and deeper root, till Trieste really possesses that which Venice only boasts of as having formerly belonged to her forefathers.



## LETTER VI.

Decline of the Republic of Venice—Its Causes—Free Port—Navigation—Imports and Exports—Taxation—Revenue and Expenditure of the City.

Venice, April 7th.

IN my last letter I communicated to you many particulars respecting Trieste; to-day my theme shall be Venice, viewed in its relation to Austria, and more particularly to Trieste.

To understand the present position of Venice, it is necessary first to look back upon the past.

The faults of Venice are not justified, nor can their consequences be arrested by the faults of others. At a time of general movement, he who does not advance is soon left in the rear, and the storm passes over him. In the year 1815, many entertained a natural and laudable wish for the regeneration of their country ; but the form of a close hereditary aristocracy was obsolete, odious, and unrestorable ; and who can say, whether an infusion of the democratic principle (and to what extent) would have given new life to the institutions, or would have destroyed them altogether ? Was there a fairer prospect of prosperity and progress in a renewed isolation of Venice, or in a union with the powerful Austrian monarchy ? Was it matter of surprise that Austria should seek to retain what she had acquired by the exertion of her own force ; that she should wish to secure her frontier against the most powerful and most restless nation of Europe ? Here the force of circumstances was manifested ; but not without an instructive lesson on the relation of cause to effect.

By commerce, Venice had become great ; and by new commercial regulations, the inhabitants believed that their native city could be raised again ; the wish for the establishment of a free port was ex-

pressed so generally and so loudly, that the government consented, though without participating in all the hopes founded on the proposed change. The principles brought into action since the 1st of February, 1830, are these :—

Firstly.—All goods entering or leaving the harbour are free, with the exception of those articles that form government monopolies, such as salt, tobacco, saltpetre, and gunpowder.

Secondly.—All goods to pass into or through the interior of Austria are to be deposited in warehouses.

Thirdly.—Certain manufactures of Venice (and their number has been gradually increasing) pay no more, on being imported into the Austrian states, than would have been paid by the raw produce. This favour is enjoyed by glass, mirrors, jewellery, wax candles, woven goods, gloves, cream of tartar, and theriac. Since December, 1830, the list has been extended, and now includes beaver hats, strings for musical instruments, clocks, organs, optical instruments, masks, pencils, starch, &c.

Fourthly.—The old tax on consumption continues in force, and has even been increased on a few articles, while, on the other hand, some have become free. Most of the articles of daily use are brought to Venice, duty free, from the continent. Such are butter, fish, vegetables, fruit, onions,

wood, corn, straw, flour, eggs, native wine, charcoal, &c.

These are the main principles of the change ; let us now examine to what consequences it has led. In 1829, the last year before the opening of the free port, there entered into the harbour of Venice—

	<b>Ships.</b>	<b>Aggregate Tonnage.</b>
Austrian.....	2059	151,361
Neapolitan.....	18	1,542
Roman .....	54	2,495
English .....	7	932
Swedish .....	1	108
Ionian .....	1	44
French ... ..	1	99
Russian .....	1	230
Greek .....	4	99
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>2,146</b>	<b>156,910</b>

In the foregoing account, coasting vessels are included. In the official table for 1838, the small coasters are distinguished from large sea-going vessels ; but the tonnage of the former is not stated. The arrivals, in 1838, were as follows :—

	<b>Ships.</b>	<b>Aggregate Tonnage.</b>
Hanoverian .....	2	252
Austrian .....	218	33,588
Bremen.....	1	160
Danish .....	2	230
Greek .....	14	1,582

	Ships.	Aggregate Tonnage.
English.....	30	4,300
Ionian .....	2	470
Neapolitan .....	65	4,646
Norwegian ... ..	3	500
Roman .....	4	286
Russian.....	1	220
Swedish.....	9	1,464
	<hr/> 351	<hr/> 47,698
Add coasters from Trieste, with oil, corn, colo- nial and manufactured goods, wool, cotton, &c.	723	
Other small coasters.....	2424	
	<hr/> Total.....	<hr/> 3498 vessels.

There sailed, during the same year .....	345 large vessels. 492 Trieste vessels. 1742 small coasters.
	<hr/> Total.....
	2579 vessels.

In the same year (1838) the steam-boats performed 307 trips, and brought 14,643 travellers to Venice, partly in consequence of the emperor's coronation.

Among the importations are enumerated : —

Coffee...	5,000 cwt. value in Austrian lire	830,000
Sugar...	28,000	2,500,000

Oil...200 cwt. value in Austrian lire 8,500,000  
 Fish...41,000 „ 2,390,000  
 and the whole commercial movement of Venice is  
 estimated at 25,000,000 of florins.

A greater number of articles are subject to the tax on consumption in Venice than in Trieste, and the proceeds go partly to the state and partly to the city. The charge is levied by the metric *zentner* or cwt. The metric pound is equal to 1 lb. 12½ oz. Vienna weight.

	To the State.		To the City.	
	Lire.	Cent.	Lire.	Cent.
Wine, vinegar, and beer	3	69	2	75
Foreign wine .....	13	69	2	75
Grapes.....	2	50	2	0
Foreign grapes.....	12	50	2	0
Spirits .....	28	5		
Flour and bread, accord-				
ing to the quality, from	3	75	1	83
to	4	33	2	15
Oxen, each .....	30	78	10	0
Cows .....	21	98	8	0
Calves .....	8	21	2	0
Pigs .....	8	80	5	0
Sheep, goats, lambs	1	2	0	35
The population amounted in 1824 to	100,000			
and in 1838	110,000			
Making an increase of			10,000	



Such, at least, is the statement relative to the population supposed to be nearest the truth, although others make it out considerably less.

In the year 1834, the tax on consumption was paid in Venice:—

For bread and flour of every

kind, on.....	102,829 metrical cwt.
Wine .....	248,572
Oxen .....	5,333 head
Cows .....	4,892
Calves .....	4,378
Pigs .....	3,627
Sheep, goats, &c. ....	29,393

The most recent calculation (*preventivo*) of the Revenue and Expenditure of Venice is as follows:

#### REVENUE.

1. Rents ( <i>fitti</i> ) .....	486 florins
2. Quitrents ( <i>livello</i> ) .....	4,763
3. Licenses .....	4,700
4. Tax on Trades and Professions .....	9,479
5. Police Tax .....	14,206
6. Tax on Consumption .....	340,458
7. Additional Land Tax ( <i>estimo</i> ) .....	86,922
	<hr/>
	460,014 florins*

(\*) There is an inaccuracy in one of the items of this table, but the sum total is probably correct, since it corresponds with the table that follows.—*Tr.*

110,000

## EXPENDITURE.

73

## EXPENDITURE.

1. Salaries (including 3000 fl. for the Podesta) .....	florins. 35,534
2. Office expenses .....	3,161
3. Pensions .....	5,018
4. Rent, &c. ....	4,329
5. Repairs of roads, bridges, and lighthouses	25,257
6. Street Police .....	6,511
7. Lighting .....	54,787
8. Religious festivals .....	3,262
9. To the poor and to charitable institutions .....	113,385
Of this the hospital receives .....	64,001
Two foundling hospitals	36,671
House of Industry .....	9,612
Infant schools .....	3,101
10. Military contingencies .....	17,084
11. New roads and bridges .....	72,173
12. Public education .....	4,225
13. Fire-offices .....	15,788
14. The Fenice theatre .....	26,858
15. Sundry ordinary expenses .....	12,705
16. Purchases ( <i>acquisti stabili</i> ) .....	12,000
17. Extraordinary expenses (including new cadastre, numbering the houses, &c.) .....	41,667
18. Balance .....	6,270
	<hr/> 460,014

If the tax on consumption (340,458 florins) be divided among a population of 110,000, it will be found to amount to a trifle more than 3 florins per head.

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## LETTER VII.

Comparison between Venice and Trieste.

Venice, April 8.

THOUGH you may have had the patience to look over the tables and figures which I sent you yesterday, I am aware that many readers, particularly among the fairer ones, will complain of my sending home such dry details, instead of amusing letters. Yet it is from those figures that we may learn to know the symptoms of life or death, and that we may judge of the treatment received by Venice, a city, in its way, the most remarkable in the whole world. For my own part, I can be excited even to tears, much more easily by dry but significant figures, than by all the moral torture of the most heart-rending romance.

On comparing the arrivals and departures of vessels, in 1829, with those of 1837 and 1838, we find in the first place a decided increase in the maritime traffic of Venice, since the establishment of a free port.

The general amount of taxation appears neither

to have increased nor diminished to any great extent since 1829.

The magnificent expectations to which the establishment of a free port gave rise have not been realized ; this has led some to inveigh against the principle of free ports generally, and others more particularly against the application of them to Venice. The opponents to all free ports argue that, if the institution confer no benefit on the favoured city, the act is one of mere folly ; that if it do confer benefit, the act is one of injustice to all those cities that are not similarly distinguished. What is gained by one must be lost by some other, while a part of the state revenue is sacrificed, the consumption of foreign merchandize encouraged, and great facility afforded to smuggling. The free port, they add, is severed from the rest of the country, and becomes nothing but a selfish factory of foreign merchants.

These arguments are not without force, and show the necessity of treating all citizens according to equal principles. They would have yet more weight if the system of customs' duties were simple and natural, and not of such a character that they destroy the trade of many towns altogether, if enforced without any regard to local circumstances. The peculiar relations of Venice, and the wish to give a

new impulse to the revival of her prosperity, decided in favour of the free port.

Soon, however, the important fact began to manifest itself, that Venice was not merely a *commercial* but likewise a *manufacturing* town; some are indeed of opinion that the population ought entirely to renounce their artificial trade, and apply themselves altogether to manufactures, for which the abundance of cheap houses and cheap labour seems to afford many advantages. The free importation and exportation by sea, it is argued, does not compensate for the exclusion from the main land.

The government, justly averse to sudden changes and extreme measures, adopted a middle way; facilitated the exportation of domestic manufactures by land, and lowered the importation duties. This was all that was practicable. A free port to foreign and inland trade would be something impossible, or at least, according to the present system of taxation, a measure of crying injustice.

Nor must the fact be lost sight of, that Venice as yet is no manufacturing town in an extended sense of the word. Mirrors, straw hats, wax candles, catgut, and the like, are articles of trifling importance, compared with objects of universal consumption.

Trieste, in almost every point of view, appears to be placed in more favourable circumstances than Venice. As I have already shown you, the popu-

lation is rapidly increasing. The arrivals and departures of ships more than double, the commercial transactions more than treble, those of Venice; in a word, the new Illyrian city is every day getting more and more ahead of the old Italian one. I have heard many different opinions, both in Trieste and Venice, as to the causes of this, and was often reminded of similar discussions on the subject of Bristol and Liverpool. I will endeavour to make the nature of the arguments on both sides more intelligible, by presenting them in the shape of an imaginary conversation between a Venetian and a Triestine.

VENETIAN.—The geographical position of Trieste is much more favourable to trade than that of Venice, particularly with respect to the Austrian and Hungarian territories. To this, the greater activity of its commerce must be attributed.

TRIESTINE.—Venice possesses similar advantages with respect to Lombardy, Tyrol, Switzerland, and Southern Germany. All circumstances considered, the geographical position of the one, as far as the mainland is concerned, is as favourable as that of the other.

VENETIAN.—Trieste's connection with the mainland facilitates trade, whereas Venice, in time of war, might be completely blockaded.

TRIESTINE.—The conveyance of goods up the

hills to Opuna is quite as inconvenient as that by water to Fusina, and a war-blockade would be an exceptional state of things, and can have no influence upon the present progress or decay of the place.

VENETIAN.—Large vessels can enter the harbour of Trieste with more winds than one, but only small ones can enter that of Venice, and then not without danger and loss of time.

TRIESTINE.—On the other hand, Trieste has no harbour, properly speaking, but merely a roadstead, which is not sufficiently protected against storms; but the harbour of Venice, when once entered, affords complete protection. Besides, all these difficulties will vanish as soon as the works at Malamocco are completed. Even now vessels of 250 to 300 tons can enter Venice.

N. B. The entrance at Lido is less deep than at Malamocco, on which account the latter entrance is preferred for larger vessels, though its depth, (16½ feet) is still insufficient, as the tides and currents of the Adriatic frequently alter the channel, and lessen the depth of water. It is, therefore, now in contemplation to construct a pier from Malamocco, near Fort Alberoni, which will have the effect of breaking the force of the Adriatic current, and prevent the latter from encountering the tides of the lagoons. The tide, no longer arrested in its course, will have

the effect of deepening the channel. Many assert that these works are executed less with a view to commercial advantages, than for the convenience of the Austrian ships of war. The two objects however will go hand in hand.

VENETIAN.—There is more religious liberty at Trieste than at Venice; and the former is exempt from the conscription to which the latter is subjected.

TRIESTINE.—Joseph the Second's praiseworthy edict of toleration (and without toleration commerce cannot be prosecuted on a comprehensive scale) is law in Venice as well as in Trieste. If the Venetians are less liberal in its application, the fault is their own. To be exempt from the conscription is certainly an advantage to Trieste, where labour is both dear and scarce; but to Venice, on the other hand, its military duties are not burdensome. On the contrary, it may be doubted, when its numerous and unemployed population is considered, whether a larger levy would not be beneficial to Venice. If we except volunteers, Venice furnishes only at the rate of 50 men a year.

VENETIAN.—The administration of the city, more particularly with respect to its finances, is, in Trieste, quite independent of the government; in Venice it is under complete subjection to the government authorities, a state of things which operates to the detriment of trade.



**TRIESTINE.**—This independent position is unquestionably a great advantage to Trieste; but it is one that has been purchased by great pecuniary sacrifices, and the form in no way decides respecting the substance, namely, the amount and burden of the taxation.

**VENETIAN.**—These burdens and taxes are much heavier with us. The tax on cattle may be instanced, and from the bread and mill tax the Triestines are wholly exempt.

**TRIESTINE.**—The remark respecting cattle and the mill-tax is perfectly correct, but it does not follow, that upon the whole the Triestine pays less. In Venice, for instance, all articles of consumption taken together pay only 340,000 florins; whereas, in Trieste, the tax on wine, beer, and spirits, alone, amounts to 565,000 florins.

**VENETIAN.**—That proves little or nothing, since in Trieste the state and town taxes go together. The 340,000 florins are only a town tax.

**TRIESTINE.**—The public revenue of Trieste amounts to about a million of florins annually, of which one half goes to the state and the other half to the town. The 50,000 Triestines, therefore, pay more to the town tax than the 110,000 Venetians contribute for their city. The same proportion would, no doubt, hold good, if the contributions to the state were compared.

**VENETIAN.**—Such comparisons are difficult to make, and figures and tables prove less than many suppose. A stranger need only look about him in Trieste and Venice, and he will immediately be convinced of the wealth of the former and the poverty of the latter, and, consequently, of the much greater ability of the former to support a heavy load of taxation.

**TRIESTINE.**—That such an appearance of things does exist cannot be denied, but it would be impossible to accommodate the taxation of every separate town to its individual prosperity. The real point is to ascertain the causes of such difference; and, if we inquire into these, we shall probably find, that the main cause of the decay of Venice is to be traced to the indolence, the main cause of the prosperity of Trieste to the activity and enterprize, of the population. This, in fact, is the main point to be considered; all others are merely of secondary importance.

**VENETIAN.**—Were it so, it would be necessary to inquire into the causes of this “main point.” For many centuries, no population was more active than that of Venice. To say now, because there is a great appearance of poverty in the place, and because idle people may be seen hanging about St. Mark’s Place, or along the Riva degli Schiavoni, that the people generally are indolent, is to jump

somewhat too suddenly to a conclusion. Are the people of London idle because the hackney-coach and cab drivers loiter about the streets waiting for customers, just as our gondoliers do with us? Or is indolence a characteristic of the population of Berlin, where the *Eckensteher* differ very little from our *Fachini*?

TRIESTINE.—In reply to the reproach of a too hasty conclusion, it will be quite sufficient to point attention to the circumstances that have wrought the change in Venice. The honourable activity for which its inhabitants were once distinguished led to the accumulation of wealth, and wealth led to a greater excess of luxury, as, in the altered direction of commerce, the employment of capital offered less brilliant rewards to a perseverance in the ancient habits of mercantile industry. Instead of entering, in the true spirit of emulation, upon the new course which the change in circumstances pointed out, the Venetians continued their former course, until the fountain of life became more and more dried up. The patricians no longer knew either how to govern or how to enrich themselves, and the way in which they gave employment to the people, or rather fed without really employing them, accustomed the masses to a life of indolence, concealed under a thin disguise of emasculating frugality. Transpose the population of Venice to Trieste, and that of Trieste

to Venice, and it will soon be seen whether local circumstances or individual character exercise the greater influence over the progress and decay of cities and states.

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### LETTER VIII.

Improvement in Venice — Merit of the Government — Poor Laws — Foundling Hospitals.

Milan, April 12th.

TO-DAY, in Milan, for the first time, I find leisure to continue my account of Venetian affairs; not, however, in the form of a dialogue, since on the points that remain for consideration there is less perplexity, besides which my own opinions and observations involuntarily assume too prominent a part in the discussion.

I am told that even now there are merchants in Venice much more wealthy than any in Trieste; but this wealth would exercise a much more beneficial influence if divided among a greater number of hands, or if the owners confined themselves less to the business of bankers, which, though it may be profitable to those engaged in it, produces nothing new, and affords employment only to a small number of individuals. The Venetian merchants trade, in general, only in one article; those of Trieste, on the contrary, turn themselves in every direction,

the moment they perceive a favourable opportunity for making money; and their extensive connexions, together with the prompt information collected through the medium of their Lloyd, secure to them many advantages. It has frequently happened that goods, which no one would buy at Venice on speculation, have been sold at a good price at Trieste, and afterwards reshipped for Venice, and disposed of at a considerable advance. Many Venetian capitalists have lent money to Triestine houses, and a large part of Lombardy is supplied with a variety of goods from Trieste by way of Venice. The mystery maintained in Venice with respect to certain commercial relations has been productive of less advantage than the publicity which prevails at Trieste.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten how difficult it is to alter old established customs and connexions, to open new channels for trade, or to disturb rivals in the quiet enjoyment of an existing advantage. Nor must we lose sight of the calamitous revolutions by which Venice has been visited during the last forty years. It would be idle to hope that Venice will ever be able to run again her former brilliant career; but it is just as idle to suppose that the city will be inhabited only by owls fifty years hence, according to the prophecy of a Frenchman, to whom Locatelli has eloquently replied. It is

already a great point gained, that a stop has been put to the diminution in trade and population, which were rapidly melting away under selfish republicanism and the despotic tyranny of the continental system, those twin gifts of France. During the last fifteen years, the progress of decay has been arrested, and, under the present intelligent and paternal government, things are improving again, though but slowly. Venice is recovering its ancient habits of discretion and activity, but I feel bound to say, and here I but echo the opinion of very many Venetians, that much remains to be done before the population can relieve itself of the reproach of indolence. In Naples, where Heaven dispenses its gifts with such profusion, the *dolce far niente* seems a thing more natural than in the desolate marshes from which the marvels of Venice could be raised only by the most arduous and persevering exertions. A people that can boast of such ancestors may count upon the sympathy and interest of the world, but must neither claim nor hope for that indulgence which can fall only to the share of weakness and insignificance. How is it that so many strangers find employment in Venice as water-carriers, servants, &c.? How is it that scarcely any kind of hard labour in Venice is performed by natives? How is it that even patricians deem it less disgraceful to enter their names in the lists of

paupers than to apply themselves to labour? How was it that I saw more idle people in St. Mark's Place in one day, than in England during a whole year? With all my partiality for Venice, I cannot suggest a satisfactory answer to any one of these questions, but am forced to look for their solution in the administration of the poor laws.

All Italy is distinguished for the number of its charitable institutions; and, in this respect, Venice and Lombardy certainly hold as prominent a place as any other part of the country. There is one house within the city in which 700 poor people are lodged, and many more have free lodgings, and receive pecuniary assistance out of the establishment. There is an orphan-house for about 335 children, an infirmary for 36 women, a wealthy institution for the reception of penitent women, a hospital capable of receiving 1000 patients, a house of education for 90 young girls, a foundling hospital, &c., and the revenues, chiefly arising from endowments, amount to about 580,000 florins. The French government, according to its customary system of concerning itself only about general and neglecting individual considerations, threw all these institutions and endowments into one, without any respect for their origin, their object, or the directions of their founders. In 1826, this state of things was remedied, and each foundation placed

under a distinct administration, but the whole subjected to the inspection of the government authorities.

A law was passed, on the 1st of September, 1836, for the institution of fraternal unions (*fraterne parochiali*) in each parish. The enactments direct that every member of such a union shall pay at least two lire and thirty centimes, and that the fund, under the management of persons appointed for that purpose, shall be applied to the relief of the poor. No relief is to be given :

1. To any healthy able-bodied man ;
2. To any one who is in the receipt of fifty centimes a day ;
3. To any one who refuses admittance into a house of industry ;
3. To any one who neglects the ordinances of the church, neglects to have his children vaccinated, or leads a notoriously dissolute life.

The relief afforded to an adult is not to be less than fifteen nor more than sixty centimes a day, and for a child not less than ten nor more than fifteen centimes. In 1836, daily relief was afforded to 3200 permanent paupers, and occasional relief was afforded to 4000 more. The number of all whose names were entered on the lists of the poor, and who in the course of the year received assistance in the shape of money, medicine, &c., amounted



to 41,300 persons; in another year, to 40,782. If to these are added the several institutions for the receipt of lunatics, the sick, orphans, foundlings, &c., it will appear that no fewer than 52,443 persons receive charitable relief in one shape or other. Eight hundred patricians receive a kind of daily wages from the government; and a Jew, it is said, has bought the palace of the Foscari for an annuity of four or five lire a day, which he pays to two aged members of that family.

Whatever may be said of the poverty of Venice, and of the causes to which it is to be attributed, it is impossible not to suspect, with such figures before us, that so profuse a distribution of charity does not always attain the end in view, but that, on the contrary, as, at a recent period, was the case in England, it tends to create poverty rather than to remove it. There was a time when it would have been impossible to find 40,000 Venetians willing to allow their names to be entered upon the lists of the poor; and, could the will once be excited to shun such a disgrace, employment and subsistence would again be found, even under less favourable circumstances.

Of all these institutions, none, in my opinion, are more pernicious in their effects than the very expensive foundling hospitals.

For Venice, the number of foundlings now main-

tained is stated to be 3338 ; for the rural districts of Venice, 10,625.

Now, is it not a mistaken principle of philanthropy—is it not a most immoral act of charity—to offer in this way a public encouragement, not only to unmarried, but also to married parents, to enter upon a career of sin?—to throw upon others a duty imposed by nature, and to blunt the heart against all the impulses of parental affection? The ostensible motive is to prevent the murder of children ; but can any one imagine that there would be, under any other system, as many children murdered, as now die of neglect in the foundling hospitals ?\* Is it to be supposed that, in the Venetian rural districts, 10,625 women could be found to part with their children, if the wheel of the foundling hospital did not present itself to them as a wheel of fortune? Let the whole execrable institution be abolished at once, and rely on the experience of other nations, that man has not yet sunk below the level of the beast, which feeds and cherishes its young! When we say, “ This child is an orphan,” we intend to express a condition of the deepest misfortune ; yet

\* Between the years 1823 and 1832 there were received into the foundling hospital of Pavia 3332 children, of whom 1415 died before entering the ninth year, (*Annali di Statistica*, LVI. 215) and 1139 within the first eighteen months. Other foundling hospitals present much more unfavourable results.

how happy must the orphan feel, in reflecting on its deceased parents, compared with the deserted foundling, whose parents, if it have any, must be criminal ones ! How can a child grow up in a feeling of gratitude to laws that enticed his parents to abandon him ? How can he confide in social institutions, that have torn from his heart all confidence in the simplest and most natural ties of nature ?

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## LETTER IX.

Venice—Railroads—Schools.

Milan, April 13.

A CITY in the position of Venice naturally seeks consolation in hope ; in this way there are at present four subjects that more particularly excite the public mind.

*First*, there are the harbour works at Malamocco, of the nature and object of which I have already spoken.

*Secondly*, the formation of a trading company in shares is contemplated, with a view to a direct trade to Asia and America.

*Thirdly*, the railroad to Milan. The fertile district through which it passes will make it necessary to pay a high price for the land ; on the other

hand, however, the level ground offers few natural impediments, and the wealth of the population will make it easy to obtain the requisite capital.

*Fourthly*, the infant schools (*Scuole infantili di carità*.) There is no want in Venice of elementary schools for instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; but it has been found that they do little or nothing for moral instruction, and that young children are excluded altogether. The new infant schools repose on different principles.

Children are admitted between the ages of two and ten, and receive moral, religious, and intellectual instruction. They are taught in three classes. The course includes: Reading, writing, arithmetic, morals, religion, sacred history, and the Life of Jesus. The last, we are told, is illustrated "by engravings of well-drawn designs, that the eye may at an early age be accustomed to the beauty and harmony of art." Singing is taught, to form the ear and to strengthen the lungs, and gymnastic exercises, in order to promote the full development of the body. To obtain admittance, it is necessary to bring forward proofs of poverty, or to pay weekly twenty kreutzer. The children remain in the school in winter from eight to four, and in the summer from seven till eight. They receive two meals, consisting generally of soup made with rice, beans, barley, and potatoes. Meat is not given, because it would

be too expensive, and because experience has shown that children do not require it. The children have always preferred soup to bread, and the latter, therefore, is no longer offered them.

The expenses are covered by voluntary contributions, or by shares of a florin and a half each. The shareholders assemble under the presidency of a parish priest, and of a government deputy, to elect the directors, and give expression to their wishes and remarks. As soon as the children arrive at the age of ten, means are sought to obtain for them some useful and suitable occupation. Female teachers have been found preferable to male; and the younger more efficient than the elder ones. What the children speak, learn, and write, must be in pure Italian, but the explanations are mostly in the Venetian dialect. Four schools already contain 1000 children, and it is now in contemplation to establish a fifth, and to hire an entire palace for the purpose, at the yearly rent of 230 dollars.

Vice-delegate Baron Paskotini, and M. Grandis, a clergyman, the two persons who have done most towards the foundation and furtherance of these schools, showed me over one of them. The first appearance was in itself a gratification. One who has been accustomed to see Italian children, dirty, ragged, and crawling with vermin, may fancy himself transported into another country, when he sees

them clean in their persons, and tidily attired. Nor was it merely the uniform upper garment that was clean ; the parents had been taught to consider it a point of honour to improve the rest of the costume likewise. It was equally gratifying to see that all the children looked ruddy, cheerful, and well fed ; and to learn that punishments were seldom found requisite, and consisted merely in confinement to a particular place.

In spelling, the children acquitted themselves admirably ; in arithmetic and calculation they also got on well ; so also in their replies on the division of time, on the almanac, and on the parts of the human body, and their several uses.

They were all able to repeat the principal doctrines of christianity, according to the catholic form. It may admit of a doubt, whether certain tenets, which even the most powerful minds are unable to comprehend, should be taught to little children, who do not and cannot understand them ; but to this it might be replied, that the child is quite as well able as the adult to comprehend many of these mysteries, and on this account it may be deemed expedient to convert these doctrines into almost innate ideas, and thus to take early precautions against the danger of scepticism.

Be this as it may, there cannot be a doubt that these schools work most favourably on the rising

generation ; nay, in many cases, the parents themselves receive instruction through their children. The plea that it is ill-judged to separate the children from their parents for so many hours of the day is untenable. Did the schools not exist, they would not the less be separated from their parents, but they would be left to themselves, and would sink back again into their former habits of filth and sloth. Least of all have those a right to censure these infant schools, who do not hesitate to stand up in the defence of the foundling hospitals.

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## LETTER X.

Army and Navy of Austrian Italy.

Milan, April 14.

It is no part of my vocation, nor is this the place, to speak generally of the military institutions of Austria ; still there are a few chief points which bear on the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom that deserve a brief notice.

Eight regiments of the line are levied out of the population. The time of service lasts eight years, and the conscripts are taken between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. Public officers, professors, clergymen, theological students, only sons of a deceased

father, seamen, &c. are exempted. Those of a sickly constitution, those below the standard size, and those who have forfeited their civic rights, are disqualified. As soon as the lists of classification have been drawn up, the rest is decided by lot. A substitute may be proposed, but in that case security must be given to the amount of 350 lire, or about 120 florins. No soldier can marry without permission. In Padua there exists an hospital for invalids. There is no military force similar to that of the German *landwehr*. The levy varies in different years, according to the exigencies of the public service. In 1822 it amounted to 3026 men, in 1827 to 3500, in 1828 to 3778, in 1829 to 2266, in 1830 to 2647, in 1831 to 12,400, in 1834 to 5900, in 1836 to 4610, in 1837 to 1924. Considering the population of the kingdom, which now exceeds four millions, the conscription is by no means oppressive; but men well qualified to give an opinion on such a subject seem to think that it would be better to shorten the time of service, to do away with the system of substitutes, and to organize a *landwehr*.

A few words yet about the navy of Austria. The Venetian arsenal, an astonishing monument of the greatness and activity of the republic, offers great facilities for the formation of a naval power. The opportunity has not been neglected. Building,



carpentering, forging, &c., are every where busily carried on, though without exceeding the bounds prescribed by considerations of prudence. The sailors (*corpo marinari*) amount in number to 2326 men, who are paid and clothed, according to the several classes into which they are divided. The marine artillery consists of 945 men. To these must be added a battalion of marines of 1276 men. The pay and rations are not so high when the men are on shore, as when they are afloat. The fleet at present consists of three frigates, two sloops, five brigs, and a large number of small vessels and gun-boats.

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## LETTER XI.

Journey from Venice to Milan—Verona—Brescia — Position of Milan—The Stradella Theatre—Cathedral—Marchesi.

Milan, April 12.

ON Tuesday, the 9th of April, at eight in the evening, I embarked at Venice, and at six o'clock on Thursday morning I was once more in the *Bella Venezia*, that is to say, in the hotel so called at Milan. The passage from Venice to Fusina was, as it usually is, a period of torture. The post-boat is so close, the seat so narrow, the air so oppressive, that one can neither breathe nor stir hand or foot. The courier's carriage appeared a spacious

and convenient palace in comparison, and, as soon as I was fairly embarked in it, I began to make myself quite at home. I pulled off my boots, and put on my furred shoes, drawing my foot-bag over these, and taking upon the whole such precautions against the cold, that on this occasion I suffered no inconvenience from it. It is true there was a difference of ten degrees (22° F.) between the temperature of Bohemia in March, and that of Lombardy in April. On the morning of the 10th of April (my father's birthday) I felt, on awaking, like one who has just landed after a long sea-voyage, though there was not yet much to be said of the beauty of the landscape. The trees, particularly the closely-cropped mulberries, were still completely bare, and the vines hung about like grey cordage; but the young green wheat, the winding brooks, the dark hills in the foreground, and the snow-capped mountains in the distance, combined to form a cheering prospect, the whole of which was embellished on the evening of the 10th with a beautifully glowing Italian sky. The view of the Garda Lake, from Peschiera to Desenzano, reminded me of my first trip to Italy with Ludolf and Hermensdorf, and now, on my fourth visit to the country, I again find myself contemplating every well-known object with rising interest. From these romantic meditations my Italian travelling companion startled me by gravely asking

me whether Berlin did not belong to the Russians. I felt like one aroused from sleep by the report of a pistol, and the uncomfortable apprehensions of the future, thus forced upon my attention, made it for some time impossible to return to my agreeable dreams about the past. I was less startled by a robber story (a standing dish in Italy), in which my companion had himself played a part in the south of France. A robber stopped a diligence, and stripped all the travellers of their ready money, while eight of his comrades were seen behind some bushes with their muskets levelled. When the thief had secured his booty, it was found that the dreaded eight were merely scarecrows dressed up for the occasion.

In Verona, where extensive fortifications are in the course of erection, I ran hastily over the customary lions. I was just standing before the tombs of the Scaligeri, when an Italian offered to show me the way to them. To my natural reply he rejoined : " But the historical explanation ! " At Brescia, in reply to my inquiry after the travellers' room, I was told by the waiter that there was none. To a second question after the locality of another apartment he answered, pointing to the courtyard, "*Da per tutto ! S'accomodi dove vuole.*" I was the more astonished, on my arrival here, to find a complete arrangement *à l'Anglaise*.

After a journey of two nights and a day, I was well entitled to take some repose, but, instead of so doing, I walked about Milano la grande for five hours with my guide, and thus disposed of the greater part of my letters. At length, at half past three, I was just thinking about dinner, when I received an invitation from the government secretary, Czörnig, who knows Lombardy perhaps better than any other man, and is more communicative than the generality. In his society I soon forgot my fatigue, and commenced my stay in Milan under auspices as favourable as those of Trieste and Venice.

Tuesday, April 16.

Things proceed as they began. Everywhere I experience active kindness and a desire to oblige. So far a strong resemblance to Venice and Trieste, but in most other respects a marked difference. Milan stands in a sea of green trees and meadows, as Venice in a sea of green waters. In the latter every thing reminds you of the past, as the great and important period; here, on the contrary, the present is full of life, and all that belongs to antiquity, not excepting even the glorious cathedral, is thrown into the back-ground. The last-named building stands more detached than the Venetian St. Mark's, and appears to belong to the present quite as much as to a bygone period. Besides,

every thing reminds one here that Milan is a great central point of wealth and activity. No signs of decay, no unoccupied people, unless in the upper classes, where the possession of fortune invites to the *far niente*, which in Venice goes hand in hand with wretchedness and want. In Venice, and also in Verona, each house, each palace, is built according to individual fancy or convenience ; the greatest variety of architecture, and the most wanton deviations from all law, order, or harmony. Large windows by the side of small ones, and seldom one window immediately over another. In Milan, on the contrary, every building is perfectly symmetrical, scrupulously kept in repair, no where is the least symptom to be seen of a poor or declining population. The question, so difficult of solution in Venice, how the decay is to be arrested, and whether it has reached its term, is here quite superfluous, so evident is every where the progress of improvement.

Milan is surrounded by broad ramparts, planted with large trees, and affording ever-varying prospects of the town, and over the country. Within, the cathedral, with its innumerable pinnacles, always forms the centre ; without, the most beautiful view is towards the north ; the mountains of Brianza, and those about the lake of Como, are still covered with snow, and contrast beautifully with the vast plains of Lombardy.

The pavement in the streets deserves to be mentioned. Not only are there side pavements of granite for the pedestrians, but in the middle also there are granite rails for the carriage-wheels to run along as easily as upon an iron railway, and with far less noise.

The finest weather, the purest azure sky, and, in the evening, a glorious blaze of stars, with leaves and blossoms breaking every where into life, invite one to walk abroad ; yet here I sit, wrapped up in furs, though I cannot deny that the thermometer stood at ten degrees (54° F.) in the shade, and, on several days, when exposed to the sun, rose to 21° (79° F.), 24° (86° F.), nay, even to 33° (106° F.). It is necessary just now to be extremely cautious how one dresses not to catch cold.

I learn every day so much about the present condition of Lombardy, and fall into society with so many interesting people, that I shall pay my first visit to the theatre this evening. Donizetti's opera of *Lammermoor* was, however, no great attraction to me. Perhaps it will form the bill of fare for the evening ; but I go chiefly to see the newly-decorated interior of the *Scala*.

Yesterday I went, for four groschen, to the day-theatre of the *Stradella*, where "the most renowned" August von Kotzebue's *Johanna de Montfaucon* was the piece performed. Much was not to

be expected for the price. A few boys, ten or twelve years old, represented the guards, and the *prima donna* was a ship of the line in ordinary. Her declamation was the less calculated to excite my feelings, as I had not forgotten Unzelmann and Stich, and the thing was not bad enough to amuse as a burlesque. The whole performance, however, confirmed me in my old notion, that a drama, acted by daylight and by genuine artists, would exceed in effect all our conjurations of painted canvas, lamp-oil, and gas-light. In Venice and Verona I felt the same impression; and I still retain the conviction that the Greeks understood the accessories of the arts much better than we do.

The cathedral also has a greater allowance of sunshine now than it used to have. The windows have been washed and repaired; the floor, the columns, and the roof, have been cleaned. The building has gained in lightness, without losing any thing of its serious and imposing character. I only wish the front were not such a mixture of the gothic and the antique.

M. C—— took me on Sunday to see Marchesi, the sculptor, a man who certainly deserves great respect for the courage with which he has borne up against adverse circumstances. The building which contained all his models, and many of the works which had occupied his life, caught fire, and

very little was rescued from destruction. He had another built to suit his own ideas of fitness and convenience, and was beginning to fill it with his productions, when the roof fell in. Unsubdued by the recurrence of one of the greatest calamities that could have befallen an artist, he resumed his labours, and his present *atelier*, arranged expressly for the purposes of sculpture, is perhaps the largest and most suitable in the whole world. Yet he has already furnished it very tolerably with the most varied works of art, whereas, in Chantrey's large room in London, nothing is to be seen but the *semper idem* of prosaic English statues and monuments. What a contrast does not the indomitable courage of Marchesi offer to the puny vanity of Nourrit, who jumped out of window because somebody had hissed him ! A French singer, to be sure, is not expected to complete a *monumentum ære perennius*. Marchesi, it must be owned, has been most liberally supported by government, and he is now engaged upon a work for the emperor, the model of which is already finished, and is one of the most magnificent that can be imagined. Religion is represented in an erect form, with a serious but mild expression, supporting the majestic body of Christ as it is sinking down, and presenting it for adoration. On one side, but a little in the background, is seen a mother, with three children of different



ages ; the expression of countenance varies in each figure, but all are directed to Christ. The eldest child is kissing the foot, while the second is explaining to the youngest the meaning of what it sees. On the other side, a blind beggar, guided by two sisters, looks as though he would fain see, but cannot. The whole reposes on a high pediment adorned with wreaths, among which roses and passion-flowers predominate.

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## LETTER XII.

Milan—Archives—The Scala—Donizetti—Manzoni.

Milan, April 17.

As a matter of duty I repaired yesterday, provided with letters from Count H——, to the public Archives, which are under the management of Director Vigilezzi. The earliest manuscripts were of 1360, so I proceeded to the diplomatic archives, under the superintendence of M. Costa. A mass of authorities, many of them dating as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The catalogue, however, goes only to the beginning of the twelfth century, and shows that monastic diplomas alone are collected here, the eternal monotony of which horrifies me, even when I see them neatly printed before me ; how much more when I find that I have harassed

my eyes and wasted my time in deciphering ill-written and half-decayed manuscripts, and have obtained only the most insignificant reward for my pains. Nothing but donations, confirmations of lands, permissions to wear a mitre or a glove, and matters of similar moment. I know these things by heart. After a few inspections, made chiefly with a view to the satisfaction of my conscience, I checked the zeal of the obliging keeper, and repaired to the Ambrosian library. Much may still lie concealed here ; but for my purpose, I fear, little remains to be gleaned after Muratori and so many industrious Lombards, who have been here before me. The librarian, M. Catena, has, however, had a hint or two from me, and has promised to make a diligent search.

As I had devoted my morning to study, for conscience sake, I gave up my evening to the enjoyment of art, and from a similar motive. Fearful of not obtaining a good place, I went early to La Scala, and was, I believe, for the first time in my life, the first comer in a theatre. I had abundant time, therefore, to make my remarks. The Milanese boast a great deal of the size of the building, as the Neapolitans do of San Carlo ; but has not this vast space its disadvantages ? Six tier of boxes, one over another, with nothing but a bird's eye view from the upper ones ! A countless succession of

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boxes of perfect uniformity are in themselves an architectural defect. Few spectators are at a suitable distance; some are too near, and some too far off. The royal box is much smaller in proportion than that at Berlin, and the same remark applies to the space between the columns on the stage. A greater breadth would, in my opinion, give to the whole an appearance less narrow and compressed. The orchestra and chorus, owing to the eternal repetition of the same pieces, are well drilled. A strong bass voice, a soft tenor, and a soprano (Miss Kemble) admirable; but all sung with great effort, *sforzato*, which I always think disagreeable. The consequence is that even of the atlas much is lost in the clamour of the orchestra, and the enormous space of the house. The music of Donizetti to this Luisa di Lammernoor is a mere series of pompous and inflated trivialities. To have a good view of the ballet I had seated myself near the front; but there I got among the pipes and trumpets, which worked away at such an unmerciful rate that I was at last glad to sacrifice the third act and the whole of the ballet, in order to obtain a little rest for my ears. I have here, in a few words, given you convincing proofs that I understand nothing about theatricals or music. My head was dizzy, and I was growing homesick. By way of curing myself, I began to think of nothing but university matters.

Thursday, April 18.

I might almost accuse myself of too great activity. At all events, I have no share in the *dolce far niente*. Things and men are continually crowding in upon me, and I disturbing their quiet in return. To-day, for instance, M. Czörnig called upon me at nine o'clock (I had been at work since half past five) and I had many matters of business to speak to him about; I then went to Count Pompeo Litta, the editor of the *Famiglie Italiane*, where we discussed historical topics, and where every thing was reviewed that has appeared of late years on Italian history. A visit to M. Vigliezzi, keeper of the archives, led to similar discussions, followed by others of a very different character at the house of M. Fortis, a silk manufacturer. I then went to M. Morbio, who had missed me at my hotel. In this gentleman, the author of a work on the cities of Italy, I found a young, well-informed man, full of enthusiasm for the history of his native country. He possesses great diplomatic collections, and communicated to me three letters from King Enzo, that have never yet been printed. Thence to Count M—, president of finance, from whom I obtained much valuable information on land-tax, customs, excise, rents of farms, regalia, and the like. One thing comes to clear up the head for another; there are times, however, when the huge mass of

information that pours in upon one, when the breaking of so many different waves, bid fair to bother a man's brain and make him lose sight of his landmarks.

April 19.

Manzoni leads so retired a life, and offers such determined resistance to those who would break in upon this privacy, that, during my former visits to Milan, I never attempted to seek his acquaintance. M. B—, who is married to an English lady, and to whom I had a letter from the English consul at Trieste, told me that I should be received if I called, and as M. B— could not go with me, I was accompanied by a Baron T—. I found Manzoni surrounded by his family, who did not, however, for a long time, join in our conversation. He is remarkably natural and simple in his manners; but speaks with great vivacity and fluency. As I had heard that he had written an unpublished essay against historical novels, (consequently against himself) I turned the conversation upon this subject, and undertook to defend this class of works. I maintained that a bad novel was a bad book, whether founded on history or not; but that a novel or drama reposed better and more firmly on such a foundation than on mere fiction.

Manzoni replied, that history and fiction went but ill together, soon disagreed, and never carried truth

along with them. The course which novel-writing had taken, he said, showed an increasing demand for truth, manifested by the wish of those who called either for pure history or pure fiction. To mix them only fostered prejudice and delusion. He himself had often been asked what was true and what was not true in the *Promessi Sposi*? and such a question he had always looked on as a reproach.

I thought myself at liberty to deny the accuracy of such an inference, and expressed a wish to know whether the *anonimo* did not represent an historical personage?

Manzoni replied in the affirmative, and reminded me of Göthe's reproach that there was too marked a distinction between the historical and the personal in the *Promessi Sposi*; whereas it had been his wish throughout to keep them asunder, so that there might be no possibility of confounding them.

To this I replied that, viewed with an artist's eye, and treated by an artist's hand, history and fiction both became truth, and that to me Don Abbondio was a much more living character than thousands of priests who might be seen running about. Shakspeare's Cæsar, I said, was more historical to me than the Cæsar of many manuals of history; and Homer I should be sorry to exchange for the historical osteology of all his works.

These, Manzoni said, were minds of so superior an order, that, with respect to them, he was ready to concede the point. He expatiated particularly on the unexampled impartiality of Shakspeare, and on his power to throw himself into each of his characters. Besides, the drama (the very form of which must resolve itself into historical narrative) was less calculated than a novel to injure the cause of truth. A glance or two at Schiller's *Don Carlos* and *Maria Stuart* led to some qualification of this judgment. This induced Manzoni to remark that the time and conditions of the Epic were gone by, and that a novel like *Tom Jones*, which confined itself to a picture of society and manners, was more true, intelligible, and attractive, than when it pretended to lead into a chaos of historical and mostly unknown facts.

Hereupon, he reminded him in how different a light the greatest and best known men had been placed by different authors, in works that passed for genuine history; that fiction and history therefore extended their joint influence every where.

The conversation next turned to the modern literature of France, a reign of terror which, in Manzoni's opinion, like that of 1793, must pass away. This opinion I supported by many examples that I was able to bring forward from my last visits to Paris. An Italian, who entered about

this time, was quite in despair about the *bons mots* which he had just heard most detestably sung in a new vaudeville. Here the ladies, as with us at home, joined in the conversation, and took the French players under their protection. The remark, that the French language was ill-adapted for singing, led to a discussion on the dialects of Germany and Italy, which, as it was getting late, we were obliged to break off.

Manzoni has neither written nor published anything for a long time, which is attributed by many to his religious feelings. There may be some truth in this, for once, in the course of our conversation, he said:—"We must all come to theology at last." "Yes, in faith and love, but not in hate and disputes," was my reply. I am delighted to have made the acquaintance of this remarkable and amiable man, and the recollection of our interview will never be effaced from my memory.

### LETTER XIII.

Milan, Nicerdy's Palace—Triumphal Arch—The Emperor's Fête—Picture Gallery.

Milan, Saturday, April 21.

THREE days have again passed away without my finding leisure to gossip with you. I will lay the mosaic of the interval before you, in all pos-



sible brevity. On Thursday, in the forenoon, I went to the palace of the Viceroy, under the protection of M. C—. The building is large, and contains a vast multitude of rooms and halls, one of which is remarkably spacious, occupies two floors, and, when illuminated, on occasion of the emperor's last visit, excited universal admiration. The latter ought rather to be directed to the fresco paintings of Appiani, which can scarcely be distinguished from those in oil. If this be the highest possible praise, they fully deserve it; much more so than a painting by Hayez, for which he was paid 40,000 *zwanziger*, and which gives but a misty representation of the imperial coronation. I saw also a multitude of busts of Napoleon, his wife, Massena, Napoleon's throne, and similar objects; which (*Sic transit gloria*) had been consigned to a lumber-room, with old inkstands, candlesticks, &c.

Hereupon followed a long conversation with M. A— about schools and gymnasiums. While I was preparing to commit the results to paper, M. von M— called for me in his carriage, and took me to San Ambrogio, where I saw again many old things modernised. We then ascended the Arch of Triumph or Peace, which may very well challenge a comparison with that which bears the same name; and the six horses to the chariot, and the four with the heralds of victory at the four corners, form a

team, that can be matched nowhere. Add to this, the clear, dark azure sky, the green meadows, the yellow blossoming rape, the snow-capped mountains afar off, and the truly balmy atmosphere.

On the 19th, the emperor's *fête* was celebrated with all due military and ecclesiastical pomp; with carpets and tapestries, organs, the firing of guns, equipages, and uniforms; something, in short, to gratify every variety of taste. A second visit to M—, when that able and learned man showed me his large historical library, and selected some books and manuscripts, which I have already begun to look into. M— is a great partisan of Austria, and has written an instructive work on the administration in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa, under Count Firmian. The publication is still delayed by motives which, it is to be hoped, will soon cease to operate.

I went to-day to the picture gallery in the Brera, and feasted my eyes on Luini, Crivelli, Francia, Montegna, Guido, and Raphael. Here I was again made sensible of the limited extent of my judgment. Pictures of a high order of excellence arrest my admiration; but a connoisseur ought to have a literary or artistical universality, of which I find no trace in myself. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Why is not Waagen here to instruct my ignorance?

— has heard that I have written a history of the Hohenstaufen, and wishes to see me again: You may judge from this, that my fame as an author is tapering away to a fine point. To-day I read in a literary notice that the history of the Swabian Emperors is “a magnificent subject, which no writer has yet treated in a manner worthy of it; but that there is now some hope of seeing justice done to it, one of the first geniuses of the day being engaged upon it.” Of this “first genius,” you know as much in Germany, as people know of me here. This is not, however, more mortifying than what was said to me by St— once in my own room, some time after the publication of my work. He would write the history of the Hohenstaufen, he said, “because nothing of any merit had yet been written on the subject.” Things of this sort have their serious as well as their comic point of view. Is it not disheartening, after having devoted so many years of my life to the history of Italy, not to find one creature here who has ever read my book, or can assist me either in the way of censure or praise? The Ultramontane is the Barbary of Italy, an unknown, unexplored land. After all, I have the advantage of them; I, as an historian, know the Italian, the Italian knows nothing of the German. These little occurrences are salutary lessons of humility. At the same time, I have far less feeling

of proud self-satisfaction in my own works, than a consciousness that, whatever gratification I may derive from my labours, their results are without importance to others, or at best a mere makeshift for the day. The conviction that I have produced no work *ære perennius*, only increases my enjoyment of the studies I am now making for my own instruction on *modern* Italy. For myself, while living, I know no more attractive occupation; and hereafter it will be of little importance to me in what way my then obsolete books will be entered in those catalogues of lumber, ycleped histories of literature. Tieck wanted to take me in tow, or by an elaborate review, to set me on my legs; but I shall not be buried standing, like a Jew; I shall be laid horizontally in my grave, like all honest Christians. Enough of this, I must return to my labour.

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LETTER XIV.

Milan—Manzoni—The Ambrosian Library.

Milan, April 22.

YESTERDAY evening I paid another visit to Manzoni. In excuse, I pleaded his permission, and he in return made an apology for not having been aware that I was the author of the history of the Hohenstaufen. Our conversation turned to the

affairs of Cologne, on which point, as you know I am able, on mature conviction, to make many admissions in favour of the catholics; but yet it was only just that I should place the arguments on the other side in a fair light. Manzoni, however, is an unbending, uncompromising catholic, as must be the case where the *form* only is regarded, and the *spirit* held to be quite subordinate. There was only one real remedy, he said, against disorder, sedition, and the like, namely *authority*; and that could centre nowhere but in the pope, and in the principle of his infallibility. To rebel against, or deviate from, this principle was to sacrifice the great point of support, and general dissolution must be the consequence. The first duty of every one was to submit to authority.

This system may be followed out just as consistently as that opposed to it, which adopts as a leading principle, that a man is *not* to submit to authority, since in so doing he sacrifices his own freedom and independence. The one system leads to inquisition and autos da fê, the other to committees of public welfare.

The customary argument that the protestants are not agreed among themselves was dwelt on by Manzoni, who insisted on the necessity of at once condemning every heresy as a thing not to be tolerated or bargained with. It was right, therefore;

he said, at once to condemn the doctrines of Hermes, which the King of Prussia had wrongfully taken under his protection.

My reply was, that the King of Prussia had never dreamt, as Manzoni seemed to think, of fixing the dogmas of the catholic faith ; but even in the Church of Rome, I added, there were deviations and anomalies, which, if followed out, could not be reconciled, as for instance, the systems of Thomas of Aquino and Duns Scotus, the development of which had been tolerated by the church. “ The *greatest* deviations,” rejoined Manzoni, “ are none, if the main point be recognised, the smallest are damnable heresies if it be denied ; that main point is the infallibility of the church, or rather of the Pope.”

It was not difficult to show that many had recognised this infallibility by word of mouth and by their writings, and yet had completely estranged themselves from christianity ; but Manzoni looks on the form as that which is most essential, and seems to regard the spirit as secondary. The recollection of some of the greatest and some of the worst of the popes could not but carry with it some weight, for, in state affairs, Manzoni does trace revolutions to the *spirit* of the government ; but to the temporal power he allowed only a very inferior importance, and the de-

cay of civil authority he was always ready to attribute chiefly to a non-recognition of its just relation to the pope. Mixed marriages, he said, might increase the number of Catholics; but truth and justice must be asserted, independently of any ulterior consideration. I did not fail to remind him that each party believed that it had truth and justice on its own side, and that neither the civil nor ecclesiastical power had strength enough to extirpate opinions entertained by millions. From the above, you will perceive how Manzoni expressed himself, and that I made it my business; not so much to controvert him, as to lead him more and more to develop his own views.

We afterwards conversed at some length on the condition of the Italian peasantry, and about agrarian laws, and gradually came to poetry and theatricals. Manzoni has not been within a theatre for twenty years. He praised Goldoni's talent, but complained of the carelessness of his style. Speaking of Alfieri, he did not launch out into the cold rhetoric of praise, which appears to be but an echo of the poet's tragedies. Alfieri, he said, had been wrong in showing so marked a predilection for Latin subjects, and for translating everything into paganism, disregarding entirely the christian point of view and the modern development of human society. Thus, in the history of Virginia, the in-

terest of the Romans was excited by the idea of seeing a free-born woman enslaved. For the slave by birth they had no sympathy, whereas, christianity beheld the great evil in slavery itself, and cared less for the manner of it. My assertion, that the essence of christianity was wanting in no confession, Manzoni could not bring himself to admit, since authority would then be placed in a new position. We parted, however, in perfect kindness, with the closing words of Augustine, in which we both joined: *In omnibus caritas. Utinam!!*

This forenoon I strolled to the Ambrosian library. The librarian had been unable to find the statutes of Milan for 1216, but, in a volume of manuscripts that he had laid out for me, I found those very statutes myself, and made several valuable extracts. Among other matters I found that the *colonnado* and the system of farming land for half the produce was in existence even in that early period. A poor man, who could neither do battle himself nor pay for a champion in support of his cause before a court of law, enjoyed the *beneficium* of being thrown into the water, there to await the judgment of God. Every man, like Achilles or Siegfried, has his vulnerable point. I had hitherto armed myself tolerably well against every attack of home-sickness; but to-day, passing a window, I saw a couple of gold fishes playing in the water, whereupon I was



seized with such a fit, that I forgot all the questions I intended to have asked my companion about the revenue and expenditure of the city of Milan.

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## LETTER XV.

Milan—Miss Kemble.

Milan, April 25.

IN a few hours I shall set out for Turin, and now sit down to give you a few hasty details about the last few busy days of my stay here. I visited Miss Kemble, who is here with her father, whose kind reception of me in London I have not yet forgotten. She invited me to take tea with her in the evening, when, owing to pressing business, I was able to make only a short stay. Her singing is exceedingly improved, and her voice is very powerful. People nevertheless complain that it is not strong enough for the Scala; but where is the human voice that can, for any length of time, fill so vast a space, and rise above such an orchestra and such a clamour of tongues! All that with us would be deemed most extravagant in this respect is a mere trifle in comparison with what is here the order of the day.

## LETTER XVI.

Milan—Cathedral—Journey from Milan to Turin.

Turin, April 27.

I send you, though from a different part of Italy, the continuation of my diary at Milan.

On Thursday I went to the Cathedral, and was again filled with admiration of its construction. The front, notwithstanding the defects and anomalies of style, is nevertheless imposing, and the interior magnificent, but on these points there are many other churches that may be compared with or even preferred to the Duomo of Milan. The roof, however, is unique. What elsewhere is considered only as a necessary and inevitable evil, has here been made the centre of a new world of art and beauty. What a multitude of arches, passages, arabesques, flowers, pinnacles, statues, bas-reliefs, &c. ! Yet everything suited to the place, in perfect unity and harmony of style, with almost endless variety ! It is to be regretted that the tower, evidently intended to have been carried to a much greater height, should so hastily have been terminated and shortened ; and unqualified censure ought to be passed on the taste that could plant such a dog-kennel of a belfry in that world of wonders. The Milanese, who do so much to beautify their city, ought to wipe away such a disgrace, by pulling down the lumbering box. If a belfry be necessary, it ought

to be made to harmonise in art and beauty with the rest of the building.

At noon I started for Turin, provided with fresh letters of introduction from Count H—. The beautiful and highly cultivated plain made an agreeable impression, though vines and mulberry trees continued to wear a wintry look. Among our companions were two ladies, one old and the other young; both were lively and talkative, but I found it sometimes impossible to follow them in their Piedmontese dialect, which they chiefly used, and in which they made themselves extremely merry at the expense of the *patois* of Milan. Thus I have already made acquaintance with three sorts of Italian: Venetian, Milanese, and Piedmontese; but what is taught us foreigners is a fourth and a very different language. Even educated persons, who endeavour to speak pure Italian, when conversing with a stranger, say *più* for *piu*, *tan* for *tanto*, *comun* for *comune*, *ea* for *casa*, *nessün* for *nessuno*, &c. I have heard only one man, President M—, speak such Italian as sounded like music.

Two gentlemen in the carriage agreed with one another, as to the utility and delight of tobacco-smoking, and made their overtures to the ladies in such a form that the latter had not the courage to resist. The question was then put to me, as a matter of form, my consent being reckoned on as a

matter of course. Their arms were already presented, but I mustered courage, and declared, though I had no objection to tobacco-smoke myself, I would not allow, when ladies were in the carriage, their consent to be extorted by a few civil words. "Then you set yourself up," said one of the gentlemen, "as a Knight of the Round Table, and a champion of the ladies?" "Yes," was my blunt reply; "let those who wish to smoke take their places in the cabriolet or the rotunda." The two gentlemen took the hint, and exchanged places with less zealous smokers.

The bridge across the Ticeno, on the frontier between Piedmont and the Milanese, is a splendid work. This is succeeded by a long tract of barren stony country, that looks even more dismal than our sand. In Novara I ate a good supper, but spent an uncomfortable night after it. The new Piedmontese coach was much too small for six persons. We could not stir either hand or foot, without pushing against one another, and sleep under such circumstances was out of the question. At daybreak all looked gloomy; the rain was pouring down in torrents, and there was no comfort either within or without. Accordingly, on my arrival at the Feder Hotel, I resolved to indulge my exhausted body with a little repose; but scarcely had I unpacked the needful articles, and set my room a

little in order, when the sky cleared up, and the resolution to abandon myself to the *dolce* or *amaro* *furniente* vanished at once. From half-past ten till half-past four, I walked about, paying visits, delivering letters, and making myself acquainted with different parts of the town ; and when, at the end of one of the streets, I recognised the Alps, I hastened out, and feasted my eyes once more in the contemplation of the noble circle of mountains, amidst which Turin is situated. It may well be doubted whether any other city is so nearly surrounded by such a girdle as Turin.

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## LETTER XVII.

Former condition of Lombardy—Merit of the Austrian Government—Maria Theresa—Count Firmian—Extent and Division of the Country—The Viceroy—The Governor—The Departments of Government, Finance, and Jurisprudence.

Milan, April 16.

MANY people who live to the north of the Alps picture Italy to themselves as one great connected whole, in a natural point of view. Some, who know the country better, divide it into three parts, the north, the middle, and south ; the first extending to the Appennines, the second to Terracina, and the mountains that lie between Naples and the Papal territory. Although there are good reasons for this

division, it by no means indicates or exhausts the great variety of existing relations. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, for instance, includes diversities and contrasts of every kind, from the Venetian lagoons to the most elevated mountains of Europe. The duchy of Milan alone contains within itself every possible gradation, swampy rice-fields, marshy meadows, fertile plains, gentle hills, and icy mountains. To this natural characteristic is to be attributed the variety in the cultivation of the land, the vines and the silkworm, as well as the rearing of cattle. To this must be added a great difference in the social condition of the inhabitants; in the extent of estates; in the poverty of some places and the wealth of others; in the usages relating to property, quit-rents, the size of farms, and the terms on which land is let. On these points more hereafter; for the present they may serve as a warning not to indulge in general expressions of praise or blame, and not to judge of an existing state of things by abstract and inflexible rules.

Prejudices corresponding with those here alluded to are also met with when we come upon the ground of history. To take, for instance, merely the duchy of Milan, or, properly speaking, Lombardy. In the time of the Hohenstaufen, this country displayed admirable energy and a noble resistance. The preponderance, however, which

Frederick I. and Frederick II. strove to assert, grounding their pretensions upon ancient imperial rights, was not more marked than that which Milan daily exercised with respect to Lodi and other cities. Even within its own walls there prevailed but too often the violence of faction and the spirit of persecution, till at length anarchy paved the way for the despotism of the Visconti and Sforza. Those times, no doubt, had their advantages. The spirit and activity of the Lombards continued in full play ; but this reflection only excites our indignation the more, when we read how such a people was imposed upon. Then followed the worst period, that of Spanish governors, when the country was treated in a spirit of selfishness and absurdity. Lombardy, though favoured by nature more, perhaps, than any other country, became poorer and poorer, and the population decreased in consequence of the numbers who emigrated from their country in search of a subsistence to less favoured climes. Had the Milanese, in imitation of the Dutch, expelled such rulers as those, where is the man that would have blamed them for it ?

The Austrian domination was an evident and undeniable improvement, and much of the good that many now attribute to the French revolution had been carried out long previously, in her Italian dominions, by the mild but energetic hand of Maria

Theresa. In her reign, for instance, most of the feudal tenures and private jurisdictions were abolished; equal taxation and an equal administration of the laws were introduced; the communal institutions were rendered more liberal; the excessive privileges of the clergy were curtailed, corporations done away with, &c. With respect to all these points the French arrived *post festum*; but their system differed from that of the empress in this: they nowhere showed the least regard for local circumstances or national predilections, and squandered the accumulations of centuries, to dazzle the vulgar by heightening the splendour of a day. Their plan succeeded, but only for a while, and the after-pains were certain to follow. I can sympathize with the dreams, hopes, and wishes, which many, in their well-meant enthusiasm, encourage, in favour of a total independence of Italy from every foreign influences; I can respect them also, provided no recourse be had to criminal means, for the attainment of ends supposed to be laudable; but, in sober truth, the unprejudiced observer can scarcely resist the conviction that, all things considered, Lombardy has never been so well governed as now under the paternal sceptre of Austria; that she has never been so wealthy, populous, well-educated, civilized, and truly christian. Which among the by-gone periods can the Lombards wish back



again? That of the Hohenstaufen, that of the Visconti, that of the Spaniards, that of the Republic, or that of the incorporation of many of its provinces with the *grand empire*? But for the servile dependence on France, the kingdom of Italy would appear in a favourable light; Paris, however, at that time, exercised an ascendancy much more strongly marked than Vienna does now, and Lombardy had to make serious sacrifices for the furtherance of foreign views. The good that was done was mainly due to the able Italian functionaries, on whom Austria continues to place such reliance, that few Germans obtain appointments in Italy; not more, certainly, than there may be of Italians holding office in Vienna. Whether too many points be referred for decision to the capital is a question that cannot easily be answered without an exact knowledge of facts; but the Austrian system of government is of all others the most opposed to centralization: this is more than sufficiently shown by the administration and constitution of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

It is placed under the government of the viceroy, the Archduke Rainer, and is divided into two governments: that of Venice, and that of Lombardy.

The former contains 8 provinces, 93 districts, and 814 communes; the latter, 9 provinces, 127 districts, and 2226 communes.

All reports from the governors are referred for immediate decision to the viceroy, or through him to Vienna, and all decisions received thence pass through his hands. His privileges are very extensive. He has the appointment of a great number of public officers, the Vienna government interfering only in matters of general importance, but leaving all local affairs to the management of the local authorities. The viceroy is easy of personal access to all, and shows on such occasions, the intelligent affability and sympathizing condescension by which so many members of the house of Habsburg have known how to win the hearts of those who approached them.

Till the year 1830, the governor performed at once the functions of a President of the Interior and of the Finances; the former as the head of the government, the latter in consequence of presiding in the Finance Senate. Many affairs he could dispose of on his own responsibility, others were subject to a previous discussion, and some had to be referred to Vienna. Among the last were new laws, an authentic interpretation of those already existing, the creation of new offices, changes in the system of taxation, alterations in the post-office arrangements, cutting and selling timber beyond a certain extent, &c.\*

\* Law of 1819, respecting the formation of the Finance Senate.

Many matters, which might be looked upon as bearing on both departments, came for discussion before the financial and the political senate. When the assembly was divided, the governor had a casting vote; but, even if he were left in a minority, he might often reserve to himself the right of appealing to the higher authorities in Vienna.

These arrangements were materially altered by a law of the 1st of August, 1830, when the finance department was entirely withdrawn from the governor's control, and established under the name of the *magistrato camerale*. The President receives a salary of 6000 florins, the members from 2 to 3000 each. Reports to the higher authorities continue to be made on nearly the same matters as formerly. The law says: "The duty of the new court is, in all its affairs, to look upon all matters in a strictly financial point of view; to endeavour to find how, consistently with the efficiency of the administration, the largest revenue may be obtained, and the smallest expenditure incurred." In another place the law says: "The motive that led to the constitution of this new court was the wish to keep the management of the finances distinct from every other branch of the public administration."

In every province there is a delegation under the governor, and an intendancy under the finance court. The two authorities are entirely separate

from each other, and are subject to different chiefs. The delegate forms the provincial authority for all matters of government, and has under him particular officers for scientific and other departments. The *magistrato camerale* and the intendant have under their control the indirect (not the direct) taxes, customs, stamps, crown lands, forests, government monopolies, &c. ; every other department of civil government belongs to the governor and the delegation. The intendant may, of his own accord, grant certain leases, consent to delays, appoint minor officers, select retailers for the government monopolies, grant leave of absence, &c.

Opinions are much divided as to the value of these changes. Most of the persons qualified to judge with whom I spoke gave the preference to the old system of administration, and with our experience in Prussia we must be disposed to coincide with them. We might say with them : " In modern times it is, indeed, necessary that, in a large state, the several administrations, or departments, should be severed from each other, but they must all have a guiding centre to keep them in harmony with one another. If, even in separate provinces, the functions of government are broken up into fragments, we shall have but a disjointed building. The injunction, " to look from a financial point of view only on all matters under con-

sideration " is a highly dangerous one; it reminds one of the French rather than the Austrian system; of an abstract, anatomical division of powers, the very reverse of a living authority that acts as with one mind. It may be much more necessary to remind public officers that they are co-operating to one common end, than to try to make them forget this. The minister of commerce must not forget that taxes are indispensable to a government, nor the minister of finance that excessive taxation is destructive to trade; the minister of police should remember that his office was instituted for the security of personal liberty, the minister of justice that the privileges of the state are as much law as the rights of private individuals."

On the other hand, some argue thus: " Many local circumstances rendered these arrangements necessary. They have certainly had the effect of increasing the public revenue, and the partial spirit, respecting which so much apprehension has been expressed, is avoided by a general understanding between the government and finance departments, or by the decision of the viceroy."

In the principal town of every province there is a court of first instance for civil and criminal affairs; in Milan and Venice there are courts of appeal, and at Verona, a high court of revision. In every legal dispute there are two instances. A second appeal

can take place only when there has been a difference of opinion between the courts below, or an evident infringement of right. In such a case, the third tribunal decides likewise on the substance of the question. In all suits of divorce, also, there are two appeals. In some towns, in addition to the court of first instance, there is a *pretore urbano*, usually a member of the court, whose office it is to mediate in any cases, and endeavour to bring about an amicable arrangement. Among the cases that come under his cognizance are disputes about rent, or with servants, trifling insults, pecuniary claims of a small amount, &c. In the country the *pretore forese* has nearly the same functions as the court of first instance has in the towns. From the decision of the *pretore* there is always an appeal. The courts of first instance have authority, likewise, in fiscal and commercial questions, courts of commerce existing only in Milan and Venice. The highest court of justice has the superintendence of the other courts and of the bar. Oral pleadings are permitted only before the *pretore*, who then takes notes of the proceedings before him. Trial by jury has never yet been introduced.

Criminal proceedings pass through nearly the same stages as civil matters. In some cases the trial may be carried by appeal before the second and third court, according to the enormity of the

crime, the extent of the punishment, or the nature of the evidence and extenuating circumstances. The *pretore forese* interferes immediately on the commission of a crime, and afterwards proceeds to carry the instruction of the court into effect. The higher court, in case of appeal, may confirm, mitigate, or aggravate the sentence of the court below. A sentence of death, or imprisonment for life, must always be sent up for confirmation to the court of revision at Verona. Political offences are mostly referred to Vienna. Any one about to be appointed a member of one of these courts has to undergo two very strict examinations before the court of appeal. The promptness and impartiality of the tribunals of justice, as now constituted, are generally commended, and seldom without a not very flattering comparison with things as they formerly were. The Austrian forms and codes have everywhere been substituted for those of France.

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### LETTER XVIII.

Lombardy—Taxation—Commercial Institutions—Chambers of Commerce—Rural Assemblies—Central Assembly.

Milan, April 18.

WHEN the Austrian system of administration is compared with that of France, two important distinctions immediately strike the attentive observer,

both greatly to the advantage of the former. In the first place, the public officers of Austria, being much more vigilantly superintended, cannot allow themselves equally arbitrary abuses of power ; and, secondly, they are, nevertheless, much more secure and independent in their positions, because they are not liable, like those of France, to be summarily dismissed without trial or inquiry. This power of dismissing public servants may be a *necessary* evil in France, but it is not the less an *evil* ; on the contrary, it is in itself a symptom of yet greater evils, for the government is forced to act the tyrant on this point, or, owing to the limited powers given by the constitution, the executive would inspire no respect, and meet with no obedience.

With the administration of Lombardy, the constitution of the communes, towns, districts, and provinces, as well as the whole system of taxation, are intimately connected.\*

Taxation and public law are certain to develop themselves simultaneously, unless some superior power interferes to prevent this. So early as the year 1248, Milan drew up a register of taxation, which was warmly opposed, on account of its aim-

\* M. Czörnig, to whom I am indebted for much of the following information, has it in contemplation to publish a work on the Statistics of Lombardy, which will be found well entitled to public attention.



ing at the extension of the liability to payment. In the fifteenth century we find a tax on salt and horses, which often assumed the form of a personal tax, and with respect to which the commune at large was considered responsible, the government troubling itself very little about the personal distribution of the burden. The exigences of Charles V. forced him to impose a new tax, which amounted monthly to 25,000 florins of gold. An attempt was made to distribute this in the shape of a land-tax, but, as none but very general directions were ever given, the consequence was that it sometimes assumed the shape of an additional tax on salt and horses, and sometimes was levied in the form of a land and poll-tax. In the several cities the sum was generally raised by a consumption tax on salt, flour, and meat. In 1564 a beginning was made with a general valuation of real property, and with an estimate of trade by means of statements of the amount of goods imported. The principles acted on were, however, so unsettled, and the anomalies, difficulties, exceptions, and arbitrary acts, so numerous, that nothing of any real value was effected till towards the end of the sixteenth century. At the same time, the whole communal system fell to pieces, and the rural districts had to suffer much more than the towns from undue burdens. All complaints to the Spanish court of folly, despotism,

confusion, oppression, decay, and insolvency, remained unnoticed, and it was thought an act of great favour and an important reform, when permission was given to indebted communes and individuals to make a partial bankruptcy, by reducing the interest to which they were liable. At the same time, the state revenues were gradually pledged or sold, and such became the distresses of government that the transfer of Lombardy to Austria was an important relief to the whole country. It was not without great efforts that a general registration, with a view to the land-tax, could be effected.

With this registration the communal system of Maria Theresa, of the 30th of December, 1755, was intimately connected. By this law of 1755, all the proprietors registered as liable to the land-tax formed the assembly, or *convucato*, of the commune, with the right of deliberating and deciding on all the economical interests of the community. This assembly elected yearly three deputies, one from among the most heavily taxed, and the two others from among the landowners generally. A fourth deputy was elected by the inhabitants who were not landowners; and a fifth by those in trade. The two last-named attended to the rights of their constituents, as far as the personal tax and the tax on trades and possessions were concerned. The first three, however, form alone the *rappresentanza* of the commune, with the right of managing its funds,

on being confirmed by government. Soldiers and ecclesiastics are not eligible, because not immediately dependent on the civil tribunals. In addition to the *deputati*, there were also, wherever it was thought necessary, a *console*, or constable, and a syndic.

The principle that the commune should choose its own officers and manage its own property remained in full force till 1796, and the government did not, meanwhile, make any unreasonable use of its right of superintending and confirming those officers. The French, under the pretence of giving greater extension to public liberty, destroyed all these efficient government institutions, substituted empty forms, made every function of government emanate from a central power, and, at last, prohibited every kind of communal association, that the *atomism* of their system of government might remain undisturbed, and that nothing more firm or comprehensive might be organized in its place. The description given by Trouvé, the French plenipotentiary\*, of the condition of the Cisalpine re-

\* Among other things, he says: "A government without means or vigour, equally powerless to do good or prevent evil, a corrupt administration, a military establishment enormously expensive, yet wholly inefficient, a total disorganization of the finances, no republican institutions, no public education, no connection in the civil laws, everywhere disobedience, carelessness, and impunity for those who waste the public money: in a word, the most complete and hideous anarchy—such is the picture of the Cisalpine Republic."

public, presents a picture of anarchy and tyranny so revolting that the return of the Austrians, and with them the re-establishment of the old communal law, could not but be regarded as highly fortunate for the whole country. When the Austrians were again driven out, the new government retained the greater part of their system, and shewed itself much more intelligent, orderly, and national, than that which had borne the name of a republic. As it is not, however, my intention to say more of the past than is necessary for understanding the present, I will now proceed to explain the existing state of things.

The communes are divided into rural and urban, and the latter are again subdivided, as I shall presently explain. There are, in the government or

Venice,	in Milan,	
315	1783	rural communes with assemblies of land-owners, ( <i>convocato</i> ), and a deputation;
483	432	with councillors, ( <i>consiglieri</i> ), and a deputation, but with differing systems for the management of their affairs; and
17	13	with urban magistrates and councillors.

If a rural commune contains more than 300 pro-

prietors paying taxes, a council (*consiglio*), must be chosen; if it contains more than 100, the *convocato* may apply to have a *consiglio* introduced in its place. Every landowner, liable to the tax, whether his property be large or small, belongs to the *convocato*, and has the right to ballot at an election. Ecclesiastics and public officers are excluded. Jews can hold no communal offices, but may ballot at an election. The *convocato* meets regularly twice a year, and more frequently if convoked by the delegate and district commissary. These assemblies have the right:

1. To elect three *deputati*, for the management of the communal concerns during three years. A fourth deputy is only occasionally consulted, in matters relating to the personal tax. The fifth, for the trading part of the community, is now no longer chosen, on account of the altered manner of levying the tax on trades and professions.

2. To make up, or at least examine, the register according to which the personal tax is to be levied.

3. To compare the estimate of the future revenue and expenditure of the commune, and to receive from the deputies an account of their administration while in office.

4. To discuss and determine on matters relating to communal property and communal officers, and on all subjects that bear immediately on their common interests.

The oldest proprietor presides in the *convocato*. The deputies are present, and so also is the influential district council. If a difference arises between the *convocato* and the deputies of the commune, the question must be referred to the provincial assembly, and thence for decision to the delegate, who likewise presides in that assembly. No *convocato* can deliberate, unless there be at least eight persons present, including the deputies.

The *consiglio comunale* is for the town what the *convocato* is for the rural commune. In Milan and Venice, it consists of sixty members; in the royal cities, as they are called, or chief places of provinces, (*capi luoghi*), of forty; and, in the inferior towns, of thirty members. Two-thirds of these must be owners of real property; the remaining third may be composed of other respectable inhabitants, such as merchants, manufacturers, &c. The said owners of real property must be chosen from among the hundred most heavily taxed; and must, in Milan and Venice, be entered on the register as possessing to the value of at least 2000 scudi. Neither a retail trader, nor one receiving a salary from the town, can be a member of the council. In the first instance the council was appointed by government. Since then, one third of the members retire every year, but may be re-elected. This election takes place in the following manner: the council draws

up a list, containing twice as many names as there are vacancies to be filled; this list is placed before the provincial assembly, by whom the selection is made, after which it requires to be confirmed by the delegation. The council chooses its own president, and decides every question by ballot, in presence of at least one third of its members. Its functions, with respect to the town, are the same as those of the *convocato* in the rural commune.

The council prepares a list of three names, from which the government selects the *podesta*, or burgo-master. The magistrates, in number from four to six, according to the size of a town, are also chosen by the council, but must likewise be confirmed by the government. They are chosen for three years, two thirds from among the owners of real property. In the assembly of magistrates, (*congregazione municipale*), a majority of votes decides, but an appeal lies from the decision to the provincial assembly, or *congregazione provinciale*, and to the delegation. All accounts must go to the provincial assembly and the delegates. These have no right to direct any expenditure not sanctioned by the *convocato* and *consiglio*. An imposition of not more than four centimes per scudo may be confirmed by the delegate; if it exceed that rate, it must be referred to the governor, and, in the case of Milan, Venice, or of a royal city, to the viceroy.

Open places supply their own means by an addition to the land and personal tax ; the towns by an addition to the taxes on consumption.

In Milan and Venice the podesta receives a salary, but in other cities the services of the podesta, and those of the city councillors or *assessori*, are given gratuitously.

In the capital of each province there exists a Chamber of Commerce, composed of from four to twelve members, who are proposed by the delegate, from among the merchants and manufacturers, and confirmed by the governor. They are to collect information respecting the state of trade, point out impediments, submit proposals for improvements, &c. The delegate presides *ex officio* in the Chamber of Commerce.

In every province there is a *congregazione provinciale*, of four, six, or eight members, selected from among the landowners possessing property to the extent of at least 2000 scudi. These are joined by a deputy from each royal city. The communes propose candidates, from among whom the provincial congregation or assembly select a treble list, out of which the central congregation again make a selection, and the persons so selected, if confirmed by government, remain three years in office. The members of the provincial assembly receive no salary. Their functions extend to the collection of



the public revenue, the administration of the communal property, the repair of roads and canals, the civil branch of the military administration, the superintendence of public charities, and of all other matters immediately connected with the welfare of the province. On all these subjects they are authorized to address proposals directly to the government.

The central congregation is, for the two governments of Venice and Milan, what the provincial congregation is for each province. It is likewise formed of two thirds of landowners and one third of deputies from the towns. The qualification of a member consists in the possession of land to the value of at least 4000 scudi. Ecclesiastics, public officers, and those not belonging to a Christian confession, are ineligible. The candidates are first proposed by the communes; a treble list is prepared by the provincial congregation, from which the members are selected by government, and remain in office for six years, during which time they receive salaries of 2000 florins. Candidates for the deputation from the cities are proposed by the cities. These central assemblies are to examine questions of a higher importance connected with the public revenue and communal interests; to make a repartition of the war taxes; to superintend the public works connected with roads, rivers, and charitable

institutions ; to suggest measures to government for the benefit of the country ; and, if their suggestions are not attended to, they have the right of addressing their remonstrances to the emperor in person.

This brief sketch of the remarkable institutions of Lombardy might be enlarged by a multitude of remarks and explanations. I shall confine myself to a very small number.

Firstly—The Austrian government has, indeed, reserved to itself the control of communal affairs, and the right of confirming elections ; but I have been assured that this confirmation is scarcely ever refused, nor has government ever imposed taxes on the communes for communal purposes, but has always awaited the voluntary imposition of the necessary burdens by the inhabitants themselves.

Secondly—The principle that every owner of land sits and votes in the *convocato* carries with it an appearance of democracy, and reminds one of the often agitated topic of universal suffrage. In point of fact, however, these assemblies are seldom numerously attended, and when they are, they generally elect a committee (*consiglio*) for the discharge of business. The *convocato* consists generally of twenty or thirty members present, 100 or 150 is an unusually large number, and the first deputy selected from among the most highly taxed always exercises a very great influence.

Thirdly—On the other hand, the practice of not leaving it to the citizens at large to choose their *consigli*, but supplying all vacant places from among candidates proposed by the body itself, and confirmed by the government, is certainly of an aristocratic, if not of an oligarchical character.

Fourthly — Whether the many gradations of council, magistracy, provincial congregation, delegation, central congregation, governor, and viceroy, be not calculated to retard public business by making its course more intricate, is a question, to decide which more than merely superficial knowledge is requisite. A good deal, however, is shortened by making the delegate preside in the provincial and the governor in the central congregation. I shall not attempt a solution of the doubt raised by many, particularly in Venice, whether the central congregations ever manifest much activity in the exercise of their functions. The idea was certainly a good one, of placing by the side of every grade of administration, from the commune up to the viceroyalty, a co-operating, or, as we should now say, a constitutional body, and thereby awakening public spirit. That this result has been attained is shown.

Fifthly—By the circumstance that wealthy individuals are everywhere found, willing to take upon themselves gratuitously the functions of podesta,

and that they very quickly acquire the knowledge of business necessary to the proper discharge of their functions. Genuine patriotism, and an interest in the welfare of their several towns, tend materially to cause this gratifying state of things ; much, however, is owing to the shortness of the period of office, the wealth of individuals, and the marks of distinction and reward which the government very judiciously distributes among the ablest of these local authorities.

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## LETTER XIX.

### Lombardy—Population.

Milan, April 20.

IN my last letter I communicated many particulars about the way in which the people of Lombardy are governed and participate in the government ; to-day I will enter into a few details relative to the state and progress of the population.

The population amounted :—

	In 1824.	In 1838.
In the government of		
Venice to.....	1,894,000	2,094,000
In the government of		
Milan to.....	2,194,000	2,474,000

The increase, therefore, in 14 years, has been about 12 per cent. A greater increase has, in some measure, been prevented by the cholera, and is, indeed, scarcely possible, in a country already so densely peopled. Thus upon the kilometre (1000 square metres) we have in Siberia, 2 inhabitants; in France, 60; in Great Britain and Ireland, 76½; in Belgium, 125; in the Milanese, 115; and, if the mountainous and barren tracts are left out of the account, we have even as many as 151 inhabitants to the kilometre. This population is very unequally distributed; in some parts of the Milanese there are only 7, and in others 1707 to the kilometre. This difference is owing partly to the natural circumstances of different localities, partly to the vicinity of large towns. Thus the district of Milan is the most populous of all, containing 95,000 inhabitants to the German square mile, whereas Bormio and Chiavenna, the least populous, contain only 400. In these districts, however, there are not fewer than twenty mountains more than 7,000 feet in height, where the cultivation of the land and the growth of articles of human subsistence are impracticable. Excluding the mountainous portions, these districts contain 9,300 inhabitants to the (geographical) square mile.

Milan, in 1824, contained 129,000 inhabitants;

it now contains 155,000. Bergamo and Brescia contain each 30,000. About one seventh of the whole population live in cities; the rural population, for the most part, do not dwell together in villages, but in scattered habitations, politically united by the administrative idea of the commune. There are 41 communes, containing more than 5,000 inhabitants, 175 containing between 2,000 and 5,000. Nearly three-fourths of the whole population live in the smaller towns and communes of less than 2,000 inhabitants; one ninth in those containing between 2,000 and 5,000; one fortieth in those containing between 5,000 and 15,000; and one eighth in the large towns.

For every 100 males in the Milanese, there are 99 females. Of every 100 inhabitants 51·7 are under, and 48·3 above twenty-five years of age. Of the males—

30·52 per cent. are under the age of	14
11·87 ..... between the ages of 15 & 20	
9·32 ..... 21	25
36·80 ..... 26	60
11·49 ..... above	60

Each family, on an average, consists of 5 individuals, for every  $8\frac{1}{3}$  inhabitants there is one house, for every 63, there are 13 married couples. In the

plain the marriages are proportionably more numerous than among the hills. Two thirds of all marriages are contracted before the 30th year. For every 1000 inhabitants, there are annually 41 births, and for every 100 female, there are 107·4 male births. Every marriage produces, on an average, 4·47 children, and where the average number of marriages is greatest, there the average number of children is least. One child in 100 is still-born, and 18 males for every 10 females. The births exceed the deaths at the rate of 119 to 100. Before the fourth year, there died in Brescia 40 per cent.; in Cremona, 51; and in all Lombardy, 47. The general mortality was at the rate of 34 for every 1,000 inhabitants, and greater in the rural districts than in the towns, owing chiefly to greater poverty and privation. In the mountainous districts, however, the mortality has generally been less than in the plains.

A continued decrease of population may generally be taken as a symptom of decay; an increase, on the other hand, is not always a proof of growing prosperity; of this we have bitter experience in the case of Ireland.

M. Quadrio's diligent inquiries have ascertained that in the Venetian government there is—

One nobleman .....	for every 587 inhabitants.
One public officer .....	126

One scholar or student for every	27 inhabitants
One ecclesiastic .....	216
One merchant .....	36
One artist .....	19
One agriculturist.....	2
One seaman.....	241
One fisherman.....	224
One pauper.....	26
One prisoner .....	813
One foundling.....	321
And one foundling in.....	46 births.

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## LETTER XX.

Lombardy—Land-Tax—Registration—Tax on Trades—Poll-Tax—Revenue and Expenditure of the City of Milan.

Milan, April 21.

IN my letter of the 18th, I reminded you of the connexion almost every where existing between the form of government and the system of taxation; to-day I will enter more into details on the subject of direct taxes, more particularly of the land-tax.

Soon after the occupation of Milan by the Austrians, a new board was instituted in 1718, to prepare a new registration, (*giunta del censimento*) that which previously existed having been found wholly undeserving of the name, and guilty of the



greatest contradictions and constant injustice. New measurements were undertaken, maps drawn up, estimates made, witnesses heard, titles and leases compared, and every matter closely investigated. The differences of soil were taken into consideration, as likewise the average produce, expense, and casualties, the usual prices of corn, &c., and according to the result of these investigations, the value of each estate was fixed, the net rents or proceeds being calculated at the rate of 4 per cent. on the capital. Church property acquired previously to 1575 remained exempt from the tax. Since 1760, the land-tax has always been levied according to the valuation then made.

A second investigation was for the purpose of fixing the tax on trades, (*tassa del mercimonio*) which was to amount to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the capital employed; but, in point of fact, the tax did not amount to more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; mechanics, who were not supposed to embark their own capital in their trades, such as smiths, tailors, &c., were exempt. This fluctuating tax was afterwards converted into a fixed one, and divided into six classes.

In the Venetian districts there existed old and most imperfect valuations of land, on which the land-tax, (*terratico*) was yearly fixed, according to a most intricate system. On the occupation of the French, the tax was augmented, and imposed on

different principles ; but in so precipitate, arbitrary, and unequal a manner, as to give rise to daily increasing complaints, making a new land-registration indispensable. This is now nearly complete, and if the work of Maria Theresa were praiseworthy for her time, and the first of its kind, that now in progress displays such admirable care and precision, that the only question is whether they have not been carried to an unnecessary extreme.

Since 1815, though not without occasional interruptions, a great many persons have been engaged upon this work ; and May, 1828, has been adopted as the standard for the cadastration. It extends to all parts of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, not included in the Milanese registry, consequently to all districts formerly Venetian, and likewise to the Valteline. The maps exceed in accuracy and completeness all that has ever before been produced of the kind. In the measurement, metric roods (*per-tiche metriche*, of 280 square fathoms of Vienna) have every where been adopted, and, in the valuation, Austrian lire. The valuation is guided by the amount of every kind of produce in ordinary years, and under the ordinary system of cultivation. The average prices from 1823 to 1825 are taken as a guide, regard being had to local circumstances, distance from markets, greater or less value of the articles produced. The expenses are deducted

from the gross receipts and calculated according to the system of farming, irrigation, &c. To allow for casualties, from  $\frac{1}{9}$  to  $\frac{1}{7}$  is deducted from the net proceeds for corn,  $\frac{1}{7}$  for flax, chestnuts, and olives,  $\frac{1}{18}$  for hay,  $\frac{1}{18}$  for wood. For buildings there is a separate valuation. Churches, churchyards, fortresses, open places, and streets, are free; but of all other buildings the value is ascertained as nearly as possible. Machinery is free; not so mills or water power. All buildings are assumed to be in an average state, and a reduction of 20 to 40 per cent. is made, for the expense of keeping them in repair.

Although in the course of the work the officers were in constant communication, not only with the local authorities, but also with individuals, yet the whole is to be submitted to the people for approval—not that individual objections are to be admitted, or that any fixed principles are to be departed from out of consideration for particular communities. Each commune is to elect three deputies, to whom individuals are to address their complaints; there are then to be district meetings, to which each commune sends one representative; thence the affairs go to the provincial and central assemblies. Thus individuals will have an opportunity to assert their rights against individuals, commune against commune, district against district, and province against province.

In the district assembly, each commune has one vote, and in case of equality the district commissary has a casting vote. The public officers who have been engaged in the work may be present at each of these meetings, to afford explanations and to justify their own decisions.

The lands (fields, meadows, gardens, copses, &c.) are divided into twenty classes, and there are pieces of land entered as producing a net income of only one centesimo. The number of inhabitants, of land-owners, and the value of land, vary, of course, in the different communes. I will mention a few of the highest and lowest figures.

In the province of Milan.	Value in scudi.	Number of Proprietors.	Population.
Castellazo .....	12,565	3	143
Bernate .....	11,281	1	201
Trenzanesimo .	37,643	1	147
Vidiserto .....	25,168	2	176

On the other hand, Tirano, in the Valteline, contains 20,000 *pertiche* liable to the tax, with 10,500 numbers upon the map, and Baruffini, 13,000 *pertiche*, with 13,200 numbers. For the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom the result stands for a given period thus:—

Population .....	4,506,000
Superficies in <i>pertiche</i> .....	42,712,000
Shares of proprietors in different communes .....	835,000

Numbers in the maps.....	6,665,000
Estimated value in scudi.....	210,851,000.

The total value of the land has here been calculated according to the estimate permanently adopted in the Milanese since 1760; and in the Venetian districts provisionally. The number of proprietors amounts to about one half of the number of shares. In 1837, there were entered in the register, 95,885 transfers of landed property, one half having been occasioned by deaths, and the rest by sales or contracts. The smallest number of transfers, 1887, occurred in the province of Pavia; the largest, 15,455, in that of Udine.

The valuation by which the land-tax is levied in the Milanese has not, indeed, been altered since 1760; but the tax itself has been increased. Thus, subsequently to 1796, it rose as high as 48 centesimi per scudo. Since 1819, it has been reduced to  $17\frac{1}{10}$  centesimi; in the Venetian lands it has also been much reduced; but continues, nevertheless, to be higher than in the Milanese, where the increase that has taken place in the course of eighty years bears no proportion to the increased value of the land. The province of Milan pays about 21 or 22,000,000, that of Venice 12,000,000 lire.

No announcement has yet been made by the government as to the rate at which the country contained within the new *colostro* is to be subjected to the land-tax. Nor will this part of the work fail to

to be attended with many difficulties, and grievous complaints of disproportioned burdens will not be wanting. If the Venetian districts are taxed according to the present value of land, they will pay much more than the Milanese; if they are taxed at a proportionably low rate, the revenue will fall short; and if an increased tax is laid on the Milanese, these will certainly be dissatisfied.

Generally speaking, however, the inequalities of the existing Venetian land-tax are so great, that the new *cadastre* is looked upon as a great improvement, and its early adoption anxiously wished for.

The poll-tax is levied in open places not subject to the tax on consumption. All individuals are liable to it, between the ages of 14 and 60, and it amounts to 3 lire 68 cent. for every inhabitant, whatever his circumstances may be. In addition to this tax levied for the state, an additional sum, not exceeding 2 lire 99 cent. may be imposed for the exigencies of the commune. The poll-tax, therefore, can never exceed the sum of 6 lire 67 centesimi. Indeed this and other additions for the commune are much more frequently raised in the shape of an augmentation of the land-tax, which is thus made to vary greatly in different parts of the country; and in many places the local taxation by the commune amounts to more than what is levied for the wants of the state. This great amount of local taxation in individual communes arises

partly from local circumstances, and partly from the reckless manner in which the communal property was squandered away at the time of the French occupation. On the other hand, there are some communes possessed of so much property, as to be able to dispense altogether with taxation for local purposes. There is perhaps an injustice towards the humbler part of the population in imposing the same amount of poll-tax for all classes ; this, however, is in some measure compensated by the frequent practice of raising extraordinary taxes in the shape of an augmentation to the land-tax, and by the circumstance that the control of the communal property may be said to be almost entirely in the hands of the small proprietors, who usually form the majority at the annual meetings of the *convocato*. The poor are exempt from the poll-tax.

The collection of the direct taxes is farmed out on leases of three years, and sometimes the same person may hold the collection of several communes or of whole districts and provinces. The farmer of the taxes has power to proceed against defaulters, and in extreme cases the land may be sold to pay the tax. Such violent measures, however, are never heard of, and I am generally assured that public proceedings for the recovery of the tax are of extremely rare occurrence. The collection is simple, and attended with very little expense. The follow-

ing particulars respecting the Milanese government may perhaps be welcome.

The land liable to the tax

includes .....	<i>pertiche</i>	30,581,000
These are officially valued at	<i>scudi</i>	124,037,000
The population in 1837 ...	<i>souls</i>	2,453,000
Of these there dwelt in wall- ed towns liable to the tax on consumption .....	„	302,000
In open places, liable to the poll-tax .....	„	2,151,000
Liable to the poll-tax ...	„	630,000
Exempt .....	„	53,000
Those who really paid were in number .....	„	577,000
Liable to the tax on trades and professions .....	„	76,000
Those who really paid .....	„	65,000
Gross receipt of land-tax	<i>lire</i>	21,955,000
„ „ „ poll-tax	“	2,116,000
„ „ „ tax on trades and professions .....	„	637,000
The costs of collection were on land-tax $\frac{2}{5}$ per cent .....	„	870,000*
„ „ „ poll-tax $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent .....	„	31,000

\* There is an evident inaccuracy here; either a 0 too little in the gross receipt, or a 0 too much in the cost of collection.—*Tr.*





5. Rents .....	17,248
6. Interest on capital .....	77,334
7. Quitrents and tithes .....	7,955
8. Keeping in repair streets, canals, and pumps .....	68,805
9. Keeping buildings in repair .....	51,205
10. Cleansing streets .....	48,682
11. Lighting streets .....	148,628
12. Expenses for public rejoicings .....	6,908
13. Maintenance of the poor, including contributions to public charities ...	248,160
14. Indemnifications .....	54,754
15. Military expenses .....	153,766
16. Police .....	136,481
17. Superintendence of markets .....	5,503
18. Sanitary Police .....	10,190
19. Arrangements for preventing and ex- tinguishing fires .....	54,310
20. Fire-office .....	1,977
21. Public education .....	72,745
22. Sundry expenses .....	11,606
23. New works for streets and canals ...	833,180
24. Expenses on some buildings (?) .....	475
25. Debts paid off .....	100,000
26. Purchase of ground .....	1,620
27. Extraordinary expenses, (including those occasioned by the cholera) ...	34,397
28. Extraordinary expenses for lodging soldiers .....	38,329

The total expenditure amounted to	3,308,645
The total receipts to .....	3,121,812

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Excess of expenditure      186,833

When great extraordinary expenses fall upon any one year, (such as those occasioned by the cholera and the Emperor's coronation) the amount is not immediately raised and covered, but loans are negotiated, or unusual means are resorted to. This may explain No. 10 of the receipts.

The principal source of regular income is derived from the addition to the tax on consumption. It is of interest by way of comparison with Venice and Trieste, to see upon what articles this tax is laid and what the amount charged.

	lire.	cent.
Wine and vinegar ..... per cwt.	1	15
Must (new wine) ..... “	“	80
Grapes ..... “	“	75
Wheat-flour sifted ( <i>abbu-</i> <i>ratatto</i> ) ..... “	1	49
———— unsifted ..... “	1	21
Wheaten bread ..... “	1	49
Wheat for grinding ..... “	1	21
Rice ..... “	“	23
Hay, oats, and other grain ( <i>biada</i> ) ..... “	“	86
Straw ..... “	“	46

	per cwt.	lire.	cent.
Cheese .....	"	2	30
Timber .....	"	"	29
Wood sawed ( <i>legnami</i> <i>segati</i> ) .....	"	"	57
Firewood .....	"	"	6
Coals .....	"	"	57
Lime and gypsum .....	"	"	40
Brick and tiles .....	per 100		29
Oxen .....	each	7	47
Cows and heifers .....	"	5	75
Calves .....	"	2	64
Pigs .....	"	3	45

The expenditure and receipts of all the cities of Lombardy together amount annually to from 36 to 46,000,000 lire.

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## LETTER XXI.

Lombardy—Customs—Government Monopolies—Lottery—  
Domains and Forests—Revenue of the State—Public Debt.

Milan, April 22.

IF time and space allowed, I should like to institute a comparison between the present times and those that immediately succeeded the French revolution; on this subject, however, full information may be obtained from Conti's work on the Financial Administration of the kingdom of Italy, and from Pecchio's work on the same subject. I shall at

present confine myself to a few extracts from the latter. "The class of proprietors," he says, "from 1796 till 1802, were despised, oppressed, and disturbed in the enjoyment of their rights, habits, inclinations, and prejudices. The communal expenses, at the same time, increased with every year; and, instead of coming to an understanding with the local authorities, the several branches of the administration were at variance, and acted like hostile powers. Many proprietors could not pay the land-tax, because it amounted to more than the receipts from the land, and property taken in execution and offered for sale could meet with no purchaser. The commercial treaties with France were entirely in the interest of the stronger power by whom they had been imposed. Taxes, rates of insurance, and smuggling, increased simultaneously, and the expense of collecting the revenue rose to 17 per cent. The registration fees (*droits d'enregistrement*) were levied with such strictness, that the heir was obliged to pay the full amount, even when the debts which he had to pay amounted to more than the value of the property. The anxiety of the minister to increase the revenue by a few thousand lire amounted sometimes to positive insanity. In 1806, for instance, he taxed the vegetables which the peasants brought in hand-baskets into the city. They were, moreover, obliged to

wait at the gates, until a sufficient number had been collected to make it worth while to write out a receipt, and then long disputes followed as to the proportion in which each ought to contribute his share." Among the expenses of 1808, we find a contribution of 80,000,000 lire to France, 42,000,000 for military expenses, and only 200,000 for churches and schools. Fortunately for the country, there were some redeeming circumstances, such as improved roads and canals, a free intercourse in Italy, increased cultivation and consumption, the establishment of several new manufactories, agricultural associations, &c.

Many of the institutions of the time have been retained, others changed. At present there exists in walled towns a tax on consumption, which differs in amount in different places. To this end the several towns have been divided into four classes. The tax does not everywhere extend to the same articles, but generally includes wine, spirits, flour, bread, cattle, fish, oil, butter, cheese, hay, straw, wood, coals, and a few other articles. The mill-tax is levied at the mills, the others mostly at the town gates.

In places not surrounded by walls, the inhabitants in general are not liable to the consumption tax; but certain trades are nevertheless obliged to pay it. Thus, bakers, butchers, wine-merchants, and inn-

## 166 TAX ON CONSUMPTION AND TRADES.

keepers, are liable to a meal, meat, or wine tax, and none are allowed to carry on these trades, unless enrolled in the official list. The baker pays from 75 to 80 centesimi on every cwt. of flour; the wine merchant, 80 cent. on each cwt. of wine, and from 2 to 3 lire on spirits. Oxen, 16 lire; cows, 12; calves, 6; pigs, 4; and sheep, goats, and lambs, 50 centesimi, if they weigh more than half a cwt., and 25 cent. if less. Whoever kills for his own consumption is exempt. This rural tax on consumption is usually farmed out to the best bidder, who collects the tax from the several persons liable to it, or makes an agreement with the bakers, butchers, &c. for a stipulated sum. While some defend the expediency of this tax, on account of the facility of the collection, others maintain that the revenue derived from it is insignificant, compared with the endless fraud and chicanery to which it gives rise. The truth, probably, inclines to the latter view of the question.

Although taxes (*calmieri*) on trades have, generally speaking, been abolished, they have been retained in a few places; in Milan, for instance, the bakers are still subject to the tax. Some of the butchers, likewise, pay a duty on beef, others do not; but as those subject to the tax have their weights inspected and their prices fixed by the police, they enjoy

greater confidence with the public, and it is considered an advantage to be placed on the list.

With respect to customs, the object of the Austrian government is gradually to abolish all prohibitions, and to reduce all exorbitant duties. From this object, it must be confessed the present state of things is, as in most countries, still very remote. The importation of certain articles, including most foreign manufactures, continues to be prohibited; for instance, all fabrics of cotton, flax, silk, wool, iron, ivory, porcelain, straw, chocolate, macaroni, &c. The department of finance may, however, authorise individual exceptions; but then the quantity must not be larger than, at an *ad valorem* duty of 60 per cent., would pay fifty florins. Similar permissions are necessary to authorise the exportation of certain articles, as raw iron, rags, works of art, &c. An unconditional prohibition rests upon the importation of salt, artificial mineral waters, substitutes for coffee, and prayer-books printed abroad; as also on the exportation of silkworms, gold and silver ore, &c. On gold and silver coins, machinery, &c., no importation duty is charged. The duty is charged by weight, value, or tale, and, in addition to the duty itself, there are generally fees for certificates, sealing, weighing, &c. The tariff has undergone many variations since the peace; on some articles the duty has been reduced, on many more it has been raised. Thus, for instance, in—



	1823.	1831.
Wine paid per cwt.	2 to 26 lire.	10 to 40 lire.
Sugar .....	48 80	37 112
Raw cotton .....	18 lire 75 cent.	18 lire 75 cent.
Paper .....	40 to 107 lire.	17 to 53 lire.
Beer (in casks)...	4 lire 28 cent.	8 lire 30 cent.
Coffee .....	75 lire.	112½ lire.

On almost every kind of corn and cattle, the duty has been raised since 1831, and, in most instances, doubled. Thus in—

	1823.	1831.
An ox paid.....	5 lire.	12 lire.
A cow .....	3	6
A mule.....	3	12 lire.
A sheep .....	45 cent.	90 cent.

That the tariff admits of great simplification may be judged from the circumstance, that the single article of hides occupies 90 items; in the last tariff but one, it occupied no fewer than 152.

Saltpetre, gunpowder, tobacco, and salt, are commercial monopolies reserved by the state. With respect to these, the regulations are so severe, that the cultivation of tobacco is prohibited, and salt-springs not worked by government must be filled up. The price of salt is immeasurably higher than it would be were the trade open; the monopoly, therefore, constitutes a tax, which, like the poll-tax, falls most heavily on the humbler classes.

The lottery still continues, and operates most perniciously. The public lands and forests have, for the most part, been sold, and the latter nearly destroyed. Those belonging to the communes and to public institutions are subject to fixed regulations, which are very rarely enforced with respect to private property.

The state revenues have risen in amount, less in consequence of the increase of duties than of the increased production and consumption.

In the Milanese, the land-tax

amounts to... .. 21,900,000 lire.

The personal tax to..... 2,000,000

The tax on trades and profes-

sions to ..... 600,000

When to these all the other branches of revenue are added, the total amounts to fifty odd millions of lire.

To the reduction of the public debt, the government has given great attention. The interest is generally 5 per cent., and is regularly paid. The 5 per cents. are at 113, and enjoy great confidence. They are entered to the names of the holders, and when sold, must be formally transferred.

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## LETTER XXII.

Lombardy—Agriculture—Rearing of Cattle—Cultivation of the Silk Worm.

Milan, April 23.

PERHAPS I ought here to add something with respect to the personal position of the rural population; but it appears to me more expedient to reserve the subject till I have revisited and compared a greater number of the Italian states. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a few particulars borrowed from M. Czörnig's experience. In Lombardy there is one ecclesiastic to every 238 inhabitants, a number which is not considered disproportionate, when the wide dispersion of the population is taken into account. Of monks, mostly of charitable orders, there are only 140. Four-fifths of the whole population are, directly or indirectly, connected with agriculture. Nearly one-fifth subsist by trades and professions. Circumstances into which I cannot here enter more at large, give a great importance to advocates, notaries, land surveyors, and accountants. In all Lombardy there are 598 doctors of medicine, 323 doctors of surgery, 996 doctors of medicine *and* surgery, in all 1917 graduated medical men, and 1321 midwives.

Of the whole superficies of Lombardy, about eight-ninths are under cultivation, and about in these proportions:—

|               | Per Cent. |                  |
|---------------|-----------|------------------|
| Arable .....  | 67        | } on an average. |
| Pasture ..... | 12        |                  |
| Wood .....    | 21        |                  |

On this point, however, great diversity exists in different parts of the country. Thus—

In Pavia, 92 per cent. arable, 3 pasture, 5 wood.  
In Sondrio, 13 ..... 40 ..... 47

The following is stated to have been the produce of the soil in 1836:—

|                                |                |            |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------|
| Rye.....                       | Vienna Metzen* | 440,000    |
| Oats.....                      |                | 336,000    |
| Barley .....                   |                | 94,000     |
| Beans, peas, &c.....           |                | 132,000    |
| Wheat.....                     |                | 2,163,000  |
| Indian corn.....               |                | 8,653,000  |
| Rice.....                      |                | 479,000    |
| Millet .....                   |                | 244,000    |
| Chestnuts ...                  | .....cwt.      | 158,000    |
| Potatoes .....                 |                | 305,000    |
| Orchard fruit .....            |                | 238,000    |
| Oil .....                      |                | 74,000     |
| Flax.....                      |                | 96,000     |
| Straw .....                    |                | 5,300,000  |
| Hay, clover, &c.....           |                | 10,110,000 |
| Cheese, butter, and honey..... |                | 696,000    |

\* The Vienna Metz is equal to 1 7-10ths of a Winchester bushel.

|                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Silk .....        | 170,000   |
| Wine.....Eimer    | 1,916,000 |
| Wood .....Klafter | 809,000   |

Some articles in Lombardy are dearer, others cheaper than in the German portions of the Austrian empire. Among the former are rye, oats, wood, potatoes, beef, &c.; among the latter, wine, Indian corn, and straw.

Although in Lombardy much of the labour is done by hand, draught cattle are nevertheless kept in great numbers, indeed there are few countries where cattle of every kind abound more; I give the average amount for all Lombardy, and at the same time of those districts in which the numbers are largest and smallest. There were in Lombardy,

Maximum. Minimum.

Horses kept

for pleasure 7,538 Milan 2853 Sondrio 93

Do. employed

in agricul-

ture..... 51,808 Lodi 9,616 Sondrio 1522

Asses.... 13,476 Bergamo 2,839 Pavia 237

Cows..... 257,839 Como 57,000 Cremona 9700

Sheep ..... 168,000 Berg. 59,000 Pavia 500

Taking the calculation in a different form, we find throughout Lombardy, on an average, for every geographical square mile :—

|         |                |       |       |        |
|---------|----------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Horses. | Asses & Mules. | Oxen. | Cows. | Total. |
| 156     | 66             | 402   | 666   | 1178   |

|                                           | Horses. | Asses & Mules. | Oxen. | Cows. | Total. |
|-------------------------------------------|---------|----------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Maximum in<br>the district<br>of Milan... | 363     | 139            | 470   | 1292  | 2264   |
| Minimum in<br>Sondrio ...                 | 18      | 16             | 17    | 332   | 397    |

Contrary to a prevailing opinion, supported by individual instances, we find throughout Lombardy, that the most densely peopled districts are those in which the greatest number of cattle are maintained.

Cows are generally bought in Switzerland, where they can be reared at less expense. The calves are killed for meat. The cheese known by the name of Parmesan is made chiefly in the country extending from Milan to Pavia and Lodi, and from Abbiategrasso on the Ticino to Codogno, near the Adda. The value of the cheese annually made, is calculated, on an average, to amount to  $37\frac{1}{2}$  millions of lire.

The cultivation of silk is that which has increased more than any other branch of industry, and is at once the simplest, the cheapest, and the most profitable.\* It plays, in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, a part almost more important than the rearing of sheep does in the north of Germany. From year to year the mulberry trees increase in number, covering the fields from Lago Maggiore to near

\* Czörnig, in the Echo, 1837, No. 5.

Treviso, though without interfering with the usual labours of agriculture. The districts of Brescia Cremona, Verona, and Mantua, participate most largely in the cultivation of silk ; in Brianza, the treatment is considered the best, and Milan and Bergamo form the central points of the whole trade.

In 1800, the silk collected amounted to 1,800,000 pounds, at present it is said to be about 7,000,000 pounds. During the last twenty years, the quantity, I am assured, has increased threefold, and the value sixfold. This led to ill-judged speculations, with a view to bring the silk trade into a few hands, and to maintain prices at an artificial height. False hopes were raised of an almost unlimited advance. The consequence was, a tremendous depreciation in the years 1834 and 5, something similar to what took place in Germany with respect to the wool trade. The same danger which seems to threaten the latter from New Holland appears to be impending over the silk trade from Asia. The importation of silk from Asia into London increased from 1825 to 1838 at the rate of  $36\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In 1800-1802, it amounted to 1,350,000 poundweight, and in 1830-1832, it had already increased to 6,138,000 pounds. At present, however, the silk trade continues to increase in Italy, and prices appear to have fixed themselves at a tolerably stationary point. The weaving of silk has likewise increased in Lombardy ; but is of little importance as

yet, employing only 2,349 looms, and 3,276 labourers. The following is the amount of silk collected in the different states of Italy :—

|                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| In Piedmont, and Genoa .....  | 2,000,000 lb. |
| Lombardy & the Southern Tyrol | 7,000,000     |
| Parma, Modena, Lucca .....    | 550,000       |
| Tuscany .....                 | 300,000       |
| States of the Church .....    | 800,000       |
| Naples and Sicily .....       | 1,200,000     |

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In all 11,850,000 lb.

which, at the high prices of 1836, amounted in value to the enormous sum of 374 millions of lire.

It has been calculated that there are annually brought into the European market 74,000 bales of silk, each on an average weighing  $73\frac{1}{2}$  kilogrammes, or  $128\frac{1}{2}$  Vienna pounds (170 lbs. English) viz :—  
From Italy, exclusively of what

|                             |              |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| is worked up in the country | 34,000 bales |
| France .....                | 10,500       |
| India and Bengal .....      | 9,500        |
| China and Canton .....      | 4,000        |
| Persia.....                 | 7,500        |
| Asia Minor .....            | 3,500        |
| The Archipelago and the     |              |
| Levant .....                | 3,500        |
| Spain .....                 | 1,500        |

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Presumed total 74,000 bales.



Of these there are consumed,

|                         |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| By France .....         | 22,000 bales |
| England .....           | 28,000       |
| Prussia .....           | 7,600        |
| Austria and Germany ... | 5,000        |
| Russia .....            | 6,400        |
| Switzerland .....       | 5,000        |

Such eminent works have been written by men thoroughly masters of the subject on the cultivation of silk, that it would be quite impertinent for me to attempt to dwell upon it. I will only state a few curious facts borrowed from Burger's book. 'Twenty-four thousand eggs of the silkworm weigh a quarter of an ounce. The worm lives from forty-five to fifty-three days, increases his weight in thirty days 9,500 fold, and during the last twenty-eight days of his life eats nothing. For 739 pounds of mulberry leaves seventy pounds of cocoons are obtained; 100 pounds of cocoons give  $8\frac{1}{3}$  pounds of spun silk, and one pound of cocoons will produce a single thread 88,000 fathoms in length.

Enough has been said to show that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom is a rich country. Government and communes have done much for public utility, having expended large sums on roads, canals, bridges, churches, public buildings, &c. The roads, particularly in the plains, as well as over the mountains, are kept in the best repair, without any

toll being levied upon them. The wealth of the country, it is true, is very unequally divided, and the poor are very numerous. I must, however, repeat here what I said in my letter on Venice, namely, that there is scarcely any country that possesses greater and more richly endowed institutions of charity, than the north of Italy. In the Venetian districts (independently of the city of Venice) the yearly income from endowments amounts to nearly a million of florins; and in the city of Milan alone the hospitals and other charitable institutions possess property to the amount of  $61\frac{1}{2}$  millions of lire, without including the sums annually paid by government and the commune. The large hospital is the wealthiest of all, being endowed with property worth  $18\frac{1}{2}$  millions of lire; besides which there are a multitude of institutions for orphans, foundlings, widows, and aged people; an institution for lending money on reasonable terms, &c. &c. The savings banks are also making a beginning. The capital accumulated amounts to 8352 lire; of which 5605 lire belong to Milan. This, to be sure, in comparison with what has elsewhere been done, particularly in England, is a mere trifle.

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## LETTER XXIII.

Lombardy—Crimes—Fondling Hospitals—Illegitimate Children.

Turin, April 27.

IN my book about England I called attention to the fact, that very hasty and incorrect deductions are often drawn from the amount of crime committed in any particular country. The mere number of offences committed proves very little, unless the character of those offences be more accurately described; and such a description even leaves us comparatively in darkness, unless we take into consideration the effects of want, war, bad harvests, the nature of the police, social relations, popular habits, &c. The more facts, however, we collect from different countries, the sooner we shall be able to avoid erroneous conclusions, and the nearer shall we approach to truth. Under these circumstances, therefore, a review of the crimes committed in the government of Milan during the last ten years may not be without interest.

|                                    | 1829 | 1830 | 1831 | 1832 | 1833 | 1834 | 1835 | 1836 | 1837 | 1838 |
|------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| High Treason                       | .    |      |      | 23   | 6    |      | 3    | 1    | 2    | 4    |
| Disturbance of public tranquillity |      |      | 1    | 3    | 3    | 3    |      |      |      |      |
| Open violence                      | 36   | 31   | 48   | 49   | 84   | 53   | 38   | 36   | 69   | 59   |
| Abuse of official authority        | .    | .    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 1    |      | 2    | 1    | 1    |
| Coining                            | .    | 12   | 14   | 17   | 22   | 43   | 51   | 14   | 16   | 59   |

|                                         | 1829 | 1830 | 1831 | 1832 | 1833 | 1834 | 1835 | 1836 | 1837 | 1838 |
|-----------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Interruption of divine service . . .    |      |      |      |      |      | 1    |      | 1    |      |      |
| Rape. &c. . . .                         | 3    | 9    | 12   | 7    | 6    | 6    | 7    | 6    | 6    | 4    |
| Murder and manslaughter . .             | 1    | 8    | 13   | 13   | 6    | 4    | 1    | 5    | 6    | 2    |
| Inflicting wounds . .                   | 5    | 15   | 3    | 8    | 9    | 11   | 7    | 6    | 5    | 9    |
| Dangerous exposure of children . .      | 4    | 7    | 8    | 3    | 10   | 11   | 5    | 4    | 5    | 4    |
| Duelling . . . .                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Arson . . . . .                         | 14   | 18   | 19   | 16   | 18   | 24   | 13   | 19   | 17   | 22   |
| Theft and betrayal of trust . . . .     | 970  | 987  | 1013 | 1121 | 1024 | 787  | 600  | 1097 | 1123 | 667  |
| Highway robbery . .                     | 214  | 231  | 214  | 170  | 249  | 194  | 172  | 163  | 201  | 148  |
| Swindling ( <i>truffa</i> ) . .         | 4    | 18   | 15   | 6    | 17   | 15   | 4    | 14   | 29   | 21   |
| Bigamy . . . . .                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Calumny . . . . .                       |      |      | 1    |      | 1    | 1    |      |      |      |      |
| Affording assistance to criminals . . . |      | 1    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Total                                   | 1263 | 1342 | 1371 | 1445 | 1478 | 1163 | 864  | 1390 | 1523 | 1190 |

Not to fall myself into the mistake above alluded to, I shall add but few remarks to this table. In the first place there is no progressive increase or diminution of crime, whence any juridical or moral deductions might be drawn; on the contrary, the augmentation or diminution in particular years of certain kinds of offences may be easily traced to the circumstances of the times, such as political disturbances, failure of harvests, &c.

Coining, (*falsificazione delle monete*) appears to be more frequent than in many other countries; and we have a full confirmation of the old complaint that highway robbery is more prevalent in Italy than any where else, no code of laws having yet been able to extirpate it. Theft and murder are rare in proportion to robbery, though even under

those heads it cannot be said that the Italians have yet discovered the *juste milieu*. It cannot but appear strange that the offence of duelling should present one continued blank throughout ten years. Is this owing to magisterial lenity, to a deficiency of courage, or to just views of the barbarous and unchristian character of the practice? Suicides are numerous, particularly in Milan. Child-murder is not enumerated, but in its stead we find the heading "dangerous exposure." This is natural enough; where exposure without danger is a thing of every-day occurrence, and encouraged by a false notion of humanity, that which is dangerous can alone be punished. Child-murder, moreover, would be a very superfluous crime, in a country where there are means of relieving one's conscience in a much more convenient manner. This must not, however, blind us to the dark side of the picture. In 1831, no fewer than 2625 children were brought to the foundling hospital of Milan, although in the whole district only 1576 illegitimate children were born in that year. Even supposing, therefore, (which would be a very erroneous supposition) that *all* illegitimate children had been brought to the foundling hospital, there must even then have been 1049 *legitimate* children among the foundlings of that year. In 1836, the foundlings at Milan were in number 2963, of whom 1764 died.

The number of children maintained that year in the hospital was 9892. One-third of all the children born in Milan, or one-fifteenth of all those born in the country, were, therefore, unfeelingly abandoned by their parents! What immorality! What a senseless expenditure of public money! On this point much more effect might be relied on from legislative interference than from most well-meant endeavours to diminish crime; and are not fraud and theft, crimes against the goods and the gold of strangers, acts of innocence when compared with the fraud thus committed by parents against their own children?

There is one subject, connected with the last, which deserves to be pointed out. The proportionably small number of illegitimate children was explained to me as arising from the levity with which early marriages are contracted, as also from the strict control under which young girls are kept. I was assured that it is generally deemed a more venial offence to intrigue with a married woman, than with an unmarried one, and the same opinion prevails among the women. Hence, it is believed that the number of foundlings is very much augmented by the illegitimate children born in wedlock. Thus the cost of maintaining illegitimate children is avoided, while for those born in wedlock the law points out a father, who, if they were not abandoned,

would be forced to provide for their subsistence. These sentiments, I own, appear to me a refinement of immorality ; a smaller evil is made to give way to a greater, and the devil is driven out by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

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### LETTER XXIV.

Lombardy—Schools—Gymnasiums.

Turin, April 28.

I SHALL have this time to speak on a more gratifying subject, that of public schools, with respect to which, government, communes, and individuals manifest a laudable emulation. The prevailing opinion seems to be, that much has already been done for elementary schools, but that the institutions of a superior order (universities and gymnasiums) still require great reforms. According to the principal law on the subject of schools of an inferior order, there are two gradations of elementary schools, from those with one class to those with three or four. To these are added what are called technical schools. In the lower elementary schools the first principles of religion are taught, together with reading, writing, and arithmetic. The higher elementary schools are intended for those who purpose devoting themselves to the arts or sciences. The technical schools are chiefly in-

tended to prepare youth for commerce and agriculture. The law compels parents to send their children to school between the ages of six and twelve, and a fine of half a lira per month is incurred by those who neglect to do so ; but is not enforced in Lombardy. Wherever circumstances allow of its being done, the education of boys is separate from that of girls. A building for school, and the necessary supply of desks, forms, &c. must be provided by the commune. In the cold and mountainous districts only are the schoolrooms warmed in winter. The books prescribed for these schools vary in price from forty-two centesimi to a florin. In the higher elementary schools, religion, orthography, Italian grammar, the elements of Latin, mathematics, natural philosophy, geography, and natural history, are taught. In the technical schools instruction is given in modern languages,—English, German, and French. The clergy are recommended, not merely to give religious instruction, but also to take charge of some other of the lessons. The general superintendence of religious instruction is committed to the bishops. For opening a private school, an express permission must be obtained from government.

Some very paternal admonitions are contained in the instructions by which it is intended that teachers and pupils should guide their conduct. Among



other things, the rising generation are told : “ Before leaving home, take care that your clothes be clean. Wash your hands, cut your nails, and comb your hair. On arriving at school, wipe the dirt or snow from your feet, and shake your hats and cloaks. Take care not to soil or otherwise injure benches, forms, tables, windows, doors, walls, &c.

The elementary schools in Lombardy\* amounted in number, in .....

|                                 |      |      |
|---------------------------------|------|------|
| 1835                            | 1836 | 1837 |
| to .....                        | 4422 | 4470 |
| including private schools ..... | 701  | 695  |
|                                 |      | 726  |

In 1837, there remained only 66 communes without an elementary school for boys, so that, if the education be not general among children, the fault must arise less from the want of public institutions than from the want of good-will. The outlay for elementary schools amounted in 1837 to 507,000 florins. Of this 21,000 florins were derived from endowments, 423,000 were contributed by the communes, and 63,000 were defrayed by the state. Of every 100 schools, 84 were public, and of every 100 pupils, 59 were boys and 41 girls. About three-fifths of the children of a suitable age attend school; and of those that do so, 91 per cent. attend public and 9 per cent. private schools. The

\* In 1834, there were in the Venetian part of the kingdom 1438 schools, with 81,372 pupils, and 1676 male and female teachers.

teachers, (including 2226 clergymen, directors, and school authorities,) amount in number to 6284. The cholera created a serious interruption at the time; nevertheless, the children attending schools have increased 3242 in number since 1835-7, and of this increase the greater proportion are girls. The infant schools are attended by 2026 children, and directed by 93 teachers; their yearly revenues amount to about 16,000 florins. Thus we everywhere perceive the cause of education advancing, and the several communes manifest their praiseworthy sympathy by constantly increasing votes for the support of schools.

In immediate connexion with the higher order of elementary schools are the gymnasiums, of which some are public, some communal, some in immediate dependence on the bishops, and others private institutions. In Lombardy, in 1837, there were 10 imperial gymnasiums, with 96 teachers and 2865 pupils; 8 communal, with 1291 pupils. The private gymnasiums were attended by about 1168 pupils. None but teachers who have been strictly examined are allowed to give lessons in a private gymnasium, the pupils must all be entered on the list of a public school, to which they are bound to pay a yearly contribution of two florins, and at which they must submit to periodical examinations. Private gymnasiums must adopt the course of study prescribed

for public institutions, and must not allow their pupils to remain less than the regulated period in each class. Those intended for the church, for the medical profession, or for that of architecture, must be educated at a public school, and those intended for the law are subject to a variety of stringent rules.

All the elementary schools of Lombardy are placed under an inspector, and another officer has the gymnasiums under his control. All vacancies for teachers are thrown open to public competition, and it is only after examination that they are confirmed in their appointments by a government order. To every gymnasium are in general attached a rector, a religious teacher, four professors of grammar, and two of humanity, (*d' umanità*). To limit the number of those who crowd into the learned professions, it has of late years been prescribed that no pupil shall be received at a gymnasium before his tenth or after his fourteenth year. From this regulation, however, constant exceptions are made, as it has been found that a rigid enforcement would have the effect of excluding the cleverest and most industrious children.

Corporal punishments have everywhere been abolished. On Sundays all the pupils of a gymnasium attend church. Not more than 80 pupils must be included in the same class. Thursday

is always a holiday. On each of the other five days there are only four school hours. The holidays, in addition to those on occasion of the church festivals, last from the 9th of September to the 1st of November.

The regular course of study in each gymnasium lasts six years, during which the pupil has to pass through four classes of grammar and two of humanity. In the first grammatical class are taught : Italian, the rudiments of Latin, arithmetic, geography, and religion. In the second class, the same course is continued, but Roman antiquity, and the geography and history of the Austrian monarchy, are added. In the third grammatical class, Greek is added ; and in the fourth, Latin prosody. In the first humanity class are taught rhetoric, poetry, algebra, geography, history, and religion ; in the second the same subjects continue to employ the pupil. A pupil who does not intend to study medicine, or to go into the church, may obtain a dispensation from Greek.

In every branch of study, the school-books are prescribed by the higher authorities. Latin and Greek are taught exclusively through the medium of anthologies and selections, in which there are difficult extracts intended for the more advanced pupils. Among the Greek selections for the first humanity class are extracts from Hierocles, Æsop,

Ælian, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Athenæus, Strabo, Stobæus, Sextus Empiricus, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Apollodorus, Lucian, Herodotus, Anacreon, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Meleager, Tyrtæus, Solon, Orpheus, the Tragedians, and Aristophanes. The Latin selections are compiled on the same principle, passages even from Muretus and Owen being included. Particular attention is paid to the old-fashioned rhetorical arrangement; consequently, descriptions, narratives, &c., from the most different writers, follow one another.

A new law was promulgated in 1838 on the subject of technical or commercial schools. These are intended to prepare the future trader and mechanic, and are therefore to give a practical direction to their studies, always keeping in view the interests of the Austrian monarchy and those of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The towns in which these schools are established must furnish a suitable building and all the requisite furniture, &c.; the rest of the charge is defrayed by government. Each teacher gives from 4 to 15 lessons weekly, and their salaries vary from 400 to 800 florins. Each school is divided into three classes, into the junior of which a boy may pass from the grammatical first class of a gymnasium. In the first class of a technical school, (the first class always

means the lowest,) the pupil is *obliged* to attend weekly 2 lessons of religion, 3 of Italian grammar, 3 of geography, 4 of mathematics, 3 of zoology, 6 of drawing, 4 of writing, in all 25 lessons, of an hour each; in addition to these, there are 2 lessons of German, and 2 of French, the attendance on which is optional. In the second class, botany is substituted for zoology. In the third class are given 2 lessons of religion, 3 of Italian style, 7 of natural philosophy, 3 of mineralogy, in all 15 obligatory lessons. In addition to these, there are 5 lessons of chemistry, 5 of commercial science, 5 of book-keeping, and 3 of commercial correspondence. Of these the pupil may choose whether he will attend the lessons of chemistry and one of the other three subjects, or whether he will attend the last three without chemistry.

Of these technical schools many as yet have been only planned. There is also a special school for

Veterinary surgery, with 5 teachers, 41 pupils, and an expenditure of 71,643 lire;

Chemistry, with 3 teachers, 15 pupils, and an expenditure of 6,750 lire;

Midwives, with 3 teachers, 71 pupils, and an expenditure of 24,432 lire.

This last institution is in connection with the lying-in and foundling hospitals.

For future theologians, on leaving the elementary schools, distinct institutions are provided in the

episcopal seminaries, of which there is one attached to every see. The largest, at Milan, in 1837, contained 403 pupils ; the smallest, at Crema, only 10. In these the teachers are appointed by the bishop, but satisfactory proof of their capacity must be given to the temporal authorities.

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### LETTER XXV.

Remarks on the course of instruction in the schools of Lombardy.

Turin, April 29.

MY last letter affords matter for many reflections and comparisons ; but I will leave them to others, confining myself to a few merely explanatory remarks.

*In the first place*, the elementary instruction is so simple, and the natural progress so evident, that there appears, in this respect, to be no very important difference between the German system and that of Lombardy. The only thing to be wished for is, that the number of good teachers may increase in proportion to the number of pupils. To the credit of the clergy be it said that, in addition to the regular hours of religious instruction, they sometimes take charge of one or two other branches, a course perfectly consistent with the duties of their profession.

*Secondly*—the limited number of school-hours at the gymnasiums is explained by the work which the children are expected to do at home, and the incompatibility of an Italian temperament with long confinement. The work to be done at home is, however, much less considerable than at a public school in Germany; and the vivacity of the Italian temperament might just as reasonably be adduced as a motive for subjecting the pupils to a more strict and continuous discipline. Besides, in other parts of Italy, we shall see that the number of school-hours is greater. On other grounds, therefore, must be decided the question, whether an increase in the number of lessons be desirable or not; and also, whether it would not be better to give two half-holidays in the week, as with us, than to sacrifice one whole day out of six, as is done in Lombardy.

*Thirdly*—I have to observe that under the word grammar is included not only Latin, but every instruction in the native language. Greek is thrown too much into the back-ground; and, however laudable it may be to attend to the geography and history of Austria, it may be much doubted whether it be well judged to assign to them so marked a precedence before every other kind of historical instruction.

*Fourthly*—the reading nothing but fragmentary collections is defended on the ground that it is ex-



pedient to make a pupil acquainted with a variety of authors, and with the different kinds of Latin and Greek. It must be owned that, in our German schools, where a contrary system prevails, many a young scholar becomes acquainted with all the delicacies of one author, without being able even to construe another, with whose particular style he happens not to be acquainted. It would perhaps be better to combine the two systems, and not to make the acquirement of dead languages the main object, where the student is in point of fact intended for some more active pursuit; otherwise, the student, instead of having his character strengthened and his judgment improved by the full impression of ancient greatness, is likely to conceive a disgust of all classical studies, and never to take a Greek or Roman into his hand again, when once he has left school. Who will deny that such is with us the rule, and the contrary the exception?

*Fifthly*—It may be doubted, perhaps, whether it be advisable to draw the future theologian, like other students, into the full current of temporal affairs; and it is just as doubtful whether it is advisable to detach him completely from the world, and yet require him, when he comes to mingle in it, to understand, to estimate, and to guide it.

*Sixthly*—Whether our public schools in Ger-

many are not more efficient, and whether they do not prepare the student better for the university than those of Lombardy are questions that do not admit of a doubt. On that very account, however, the lyceum and the course of philosophy have been established. Of these more in my next; for the present I will only call attention,

*Seventhly*—to a most important point, namely that in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom all public instruction, whether in the elementary schools, or at a gymnasium, a lyceum, or a university, is *altogether gratuitous*. I am aware of the motives by which the demand of payment is usually justified; nor do I require to be told that what is given away rarely fails to be undervalued; nevertheless, there is something gratifying in the idea of education without any cost to the parents: much anxiety is thus prevented, as well as many little selfish manœuvres.

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## LETTER XXVI.

Lombardy—Lyceums—Universities—Academy—Exhibition  
of Works of Art.

Turin, April 30.

I HAVE to treat to-day of an institution of Lombardy (partly of French origin) which differs ma-

terially from our system ; I mean of the Lyceums, and what is called the course of philosophical studies. It is generally thought that the gymnasium affords but an insufficient preparation for the study of divinity, law, or medicine, and even for those who, without purposing to devote themselves to either of those professions, intend to compete for appointments to certain public offices. For such students, therefore, a two years' course is opened at the lyceum, or in the philosophical faculty of a university. Before completing this course, a student cannot be entered for either of the three other faculties. In Prussia we have no corresponding regulation. The subjects here treated of at the lyceums are with us either attended to at the public school, or may be studied at the university simultaneously with divinity, jurisprudence, or medicine. Here no student can enter a lyceum without a certificate of maturity from the gymnasium ; nor can he be entered for either of the three faculties, without a certificate to show that he has passed through the intermediate two years' course, which is never curtailed, though, with respect to some of the lectures, it is left to the option of the students to attend them or not, as they please. The discipline under which they are kept is tolerably strict. They must not go to a theatre, ball, or any place of public amusement, without express per-

mission, nor are circulating libraries allowed to lend them novels or the *Conversations-Lexicon*. On Sundays they must go to church, and six times a year they must confess and receive the communion. There are in Lombardy seven imperial lyceums, one civic at Lodi, and eight episcopal, connected with the seminaries. They are attended by 1600 students. The imperial lyceums cost the government about 137,000 lire annually.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom there are two universities, those of Padua and Pavia, where the course of study is under the control of the directors of the several faculties, who in their turn are responsible to the governor of the province. The directors propose candidates to fill up vacancies, suggest modifications in the course of study, see that the professors arrange their lectures in a suitable manner, that they do not wander away from their subjects, and that they lead a moral life; the directors are also to examine class-books and academical discourses, to be frequently present at the lectures, to take part in the deliberations of the Senate, to call the faculties together, and to superintend the election of a dean.

These directors, who are not professors, are said to have all the real power in their hands, the rector being a representative without influence, and the functions of the dean being confined to the care of

some matters of a purely scientific character. Every thing belonging to discipline and the maintenance of order is also in the hands of the directors.

An ordinance relating to the University of Padua, dated the 8th of April, 1825, declares that institution to be immediately under the *gubernium*. A general assembly includes not only the directors, deans, and professors, but likewise all doctors who have graduated at Padua, and reside in the city. The rector is elected annually from the different faculties in succession, and not only the professors but also each of the doctors just mentioned has a voice in the election, and is himself eligible to the dignity. The Senate selects three candidates from the faculty next in succession, after which a majority of votes determines the election, subject to the confirmation of the government. The rector calls the Senate together twice a year, when a report is read of all that has been done by him during the interval. His power, however, in this respect, is greatly cramped, especially by means of the directors. The dean must be a doctor of the faculty to which he belongs, but, in that of law or medicine, must not himself be a professor. In the other faculties, professors are eligible to the dignity of dean. The dean is to keep an historical chronicle of everything relating to the faculty. All lectures are gratuitous, with the exception that twelve lire

are paid by the higher order of nobles on entering their names, nine by the inferior nobles, six by a wealthy citizen, and three by any other student.

With respect to the relation between doctors and professors, the law says: the faculties are considered as academical corporations, distinct (*separati*) from the professors. Although the doctors, therefore, do not belong to the body of instructors, they have a central point of union, to consult together, and place their suggestions before the authorities. They likewise serve the state, as an assembly of well-informed men, whose opinion may be consulted and listened to.

The university of Padua has the four customary faculties. The Senate consists of the following persons: the rector, four directors, four deans, and four ancients among the professors. There are six ordinary professors of divinity, eight of law, twelve of medicine, nine of the philosophical sciences, besides a few deputies and assistants, but not, as with us, a set of extraordinary professors and private tutors. The general assembly, including the doctors, consists of twenty-four theologians, fifty-seven jurists, twenty-four physicians, and thirty philosophers.

The university course, for divinity and law, lasts four years; for medicine and surgery five; and for those who study surgery only, three or four years. Every half-year the students are examined. At

the end of two years they obtain the dignity of bachelor, and at the end of three, that of a licentiate. The dignity of doctor is not conferred before the end of the fourth year, nor till after a general examination. The candidate must publicly defend a Latin thesis, but no mention is made of any essay required to be printed.

The university of Pavia has no theological faculty, but in every other respect the same constitution as that of Padua. There are at present thirty-eight professors, three adjuncts, and eleven assessors. Of these, eleven professors and two adjuncts belong to the philosophical faculty; four professors and one assessor to the mathematical division of the faculty; eight professors and one adjunct to the legal; and fifteen professors and ten assessors to the medical faculty.

The mathematical division of the philosophical faculty is chiefly intended for the education of land-surveyors and engineers. A student can enter it on completing his course of philosophy. The payment of the several teachers, in 1837, amounted—

Lire.

|                                      |        |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| For the faculty of jurisprudence, to | 24,000 |
| For that of medicine .....           | 75,000 |
| For the philosophical and mathema-   |        |
| tical teachers .....                 | 69,000 |
| For adjuncts .....                   | 16,000 |

The library received 3,000 lire (three lire = one florin); the botanical garden, 2,800; the agrarian garden, 1,200; the museum of natural history, 1,700; the physical cabinet, 2,620; the whole expenditure for the university amounted to 250,000 lire.

The expense of a degree comes to 949 lire for a jurist; to 570, for a physician; to 343, for a surgeon, &c. In 1837 there were made,

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Doctors of Law .....               | 33  |
| „ Medicine .....                   | 112 |
| „ Surgery ... ..                   | 95  |
| Masters of Surgery .....           | 17  |
| Surgeons of the second class ..... | 9   |
| Apothecaries .....                 | 17  |
| Engineers .....                    | 66  |
| Land Surveyors .....               | 15  |

On an average, the fees received annually for degrees amount to 150,000 lire. The smallest number of students was from 1812 to 1814, when there were only 554; the largest number was in 1825-6, when there were 1483. In 1837, the students amounted in number to 1307, including 87 foreigners; of these, 287 belonged to the philosophical, 438 to the legal, and 582 to the medical faculty.

According to the list of lectures for 1839, I find that the course of philosophy, for the first year,



comprised the following subjects: religion, logic, metaphysics, elementary mathematics, and Latin philology from an anthology. For the second year are prescribed: religion, morals, physics, Latin philology. Among the lectures (on which the attendance is optional, are universal history, natural history, Austrian history, diplomacy, belles lettres, history of philosophy, and the German language and literature.

In the faculty of law are prescribed: in the  
First year, first half-year: encyclopedia, natural law,  
criminal law, statistics;

second half-year: continuation of natural  
and criminal law, and Austrian history.  
second year, first half-year: Roman law, and eccle-  
siastical law;

second half-year: continuation and feudal  
law.

Third year, first half-year: Austrian civil and  
commercial law;

second half-year: continuation and mari-  
time law.

Fourth year, first half-year: law-proceedings,  
notarial law, business style, and political  
science;

second half-year: continuation, and Aus-  
trian political and criminal legislation.

The only lectures delivered in Latin are those on

ecclesiastical law. There are generally five lectures to be attended every day, with the exception of Thursday, always a holiday. The principal vacation lasts from the 8th of September till the 3rd of November.

To afford some idea of the existing arrangement, the foregoing will suffice, to which I will only add a few brief remarks as when treating of schools, by way of instituting some comparison between the German and Italian universities.

In the first place, the lyceum and the course of philosophy owe their institution evidently to a consciousness that a blank existed between the degree of information acquired at a gymnasium and that necessary for prosecuting the study of either of the other three faculties; but here a doubt suggests itself, whether it would not be simpler, more economical, and more beneficial, to assign to the gymnasium a part of the instruction afforded by the lyceum, and the remainder to the university itself. I scarcely think it well-judged to compress all these subjects into the space of two years, and then to confine the student entirely to matters connected with his intended profession, without allowing him the relief of variety. Would it not be better to permit the young men, as is done at our German universities, to attend philosophical and historical lectures, simultaneously with those on theology,

medicine or law? It is true that, owing to the greater liberty allowed to our students, they frequently absent themselves from all lectures but those connected with the pursuit on which their future livelihood is to depend. In such cases it is not to be denied that the stricter regulations of Italy may be preferable.

The director of a faculty is an officer wholly unknown with us, and the object of his appointment is evidently the maintenance of a stricter discipline. The enlargement of the faculty by the admission of resident doctors is another arrangement unknown in Germany. It may have the effect of avoiding much partiality and exclusiveness; but it may be questioned whether, on the other hand, it does not tend to weaken the corporation.

Many objections might be made to the number and succession of the lectures, and certainly our better universities in Germany present greater variety and more completeness. The Italians, on the other hand, might argue, that this variety is carried much too far with us, breaking up the course of study into a multitude of fragments, in a manner quite unsuitable to the student's advancement.

A new law was promulgated on the 6th of September, 1838, for the foundation or restoration of two academies of arts and sciences at Venice and

Milan, and measures are now in progress to effect the realisation of this plan. Each academy is to comprise three classes: real members, honorary members, and correspondents. The first are to receive salaries of 1200 lire, and the farther assistance to be afforded has, for the present, been fixed at 45,000 lire.

At the exhibition of arts in Milan, in 1838, there were 691 numbers in the catalogue, including 105 pieces of sculpture, by twenty-nine artists, namely, 2 groupes, 28 statues, 47 busts, &c. Among the pictures were: 77 historical paintings, 50 *tableaux de genre*, 126 landscapes, 77 views, 10 flower-pieces, 128 portraits, 34 in water-colours, &c. The works of living artists may be freely exported, but not old paintings, statues, manuscripts, &c.

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## LETTER XXVII.

Lombardy—Laws relative to the Press—The Clergy—Improvements in Lombardy.

Turin, May 1.

HAVING made you acquainted with the principles according to which the youth of Lombardy are educated, I come now to the principal points of the law relating to the censorship, by which it is intended to keep the grown children in order.

The censorship extends to all books printed in the country and to all those imported into it. A marked distinction is made between scientific works, not likely to fall into any hands but those of educated men, and books of mere entertainment or fiction, intended for the public at large. The former class of literature is treated with great forbearance; but, respecting the latter, the law of the 8th of March, 1815, says, "They are by no means deserving of the same indulgence, they are productive of no utility, and all that is valuable in them may be obtained from purer sources. All that operates injuriously on head and heart, and only tends to the excitement of the senses, must be suppressed. Firm resistance must be opposed to the dissemination of pernicious novel-reading. This is not meant to apply to the few that enlighten the mind and improve the heart, but to the mass of novels, which treat only of love-adventures, and fill the imagination with chimeras and illusions."

With extreme caution must those books be treated which touch on the limits of temporal and spiritual power. Writings that inculcate the doctrines of socinianism, deism, or materialism, must be repulsed. Nothing is to be printed respecting the emperor and his family, however laudatory it may be, without express permission.

Printed books are divided into four classes:

1st, *admittitur*, may freely pass ; 2nd, *transeat*, may be sold, but not advertised or exhibited for sale ; 3rd, *erga schedam*, may be delivered to safe and trustworthy persons ; 4th, *damnatur*, prohibited. The same classification holds good with respect to manuscripts, for which, however, there is a fifth class : “ *typum non meretur*, unworthy of being printed.” “ In this class,” says the law, “ are included those wretched worthless books the subject of which is without interest, and which are at variance with all good sense, as well as other miserable productions which violate good taste, the rules of style, and the purity of language.”

A catalogue of the newspapers allowed to be imported is yearly drawn up at Vienna, and the Vienna papers are held up as a model by which those of the interior are to fashion themselves. The law says : “ They ought to be attractive, true, and circumspect.”

The theatres also are subject to a strict censorship, since much may be printed that must not be performed. Sanguinary and inhuman pieces must be rejected, and modesty is enjoined in gestures, dances, and costumes. A worthless king must not be presented as the principal character, unless there be a good and just king in the same piece, to counteract the evil impression produced by the former.

Five copies must be delivered of each book. No one is allowed to cause any work to be printed in a foreign country. This prohibition extends also to articles and letters in foreign newspapers and periodicals. Books on ecclesiastical law and ecclesiastical history are not referred to the bishops; but other theological and religious writings are submitted to them for approval. In case of a difference of opinion between them and the censors, the question must be referred to a superior authority.

I may be permitted here to add a few particulars respecting the position of the clergy in Lombardy. During the reign of Maria Theresa, and during the administration of Count Firmian (1762-1768) very important alterations took place in this respect. Personal privileges were curtailed, the power of vesting land in mortmain was diminished, the private prisons of religious houses, as well as asylums and inquisitions, were abolished, papal orders subjected to an *exequatur*, mixed ecclesiastical affairs referred to the decision of mixed tribunals, &c. The edict of toleration issued by Joseph II. (18th October, 1781) is in full force in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. It does not place Catholics and Protestants on a footing of equality, but allows the latter the performance of divine service in private, admits them into the several trades and corporations, and permits them to purchase real pro-

party. If in a mixed marriage the father be a Catholic, the children must all be brought up in that religion; if he be a protestant, the sons only may be educated as protestants. A divorced protestant may contract a second marriage with a protestant but not with a catholic woman, unless the divorce has been occasioned by adultery, and the individual marrying again has not been the guilty party.

The emperor appoints the canons to the cathedral and collegiate churches, and confirms the appointment of certain patrons. The imposition of episcopal fees requires a similar confirmation. Among others, a certificate of the genuineness of a relic costs one florin.

Many convents for education and for the care of the sick have been re-opened, and the establishment of others permitted, without however the state taking on itself to assist in their support. No one is allowed to enter a convent until past twenty-four years of age, and one year must be spent in the noviciate.

The revenues of a bishop vary from 4765 to 16,666 fl.; of a parish priest from 191 to 3237; of a professor from 600 to 2000; of a schoolmaster from 350 to 600.

Although I have throughout these letters endeavoured to be as concise as possible, and have con-



sequently made many omissions, they have already swelled to a considerable bulk. Some deficiencies I shall be better able to supply on my return to Milan. At all events, I have attained a well-grounded conviction that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom is in a state of progressive improvement, and the Austrian administration just, benevolent, and suitable. A native Italian may indeed desire something further; but let him beware of embracing a cloud instead of a goddess. I shall return to this text in the sequel, when I shall have better studied my sermon.

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### LETTER XXVIII.

Turin—Conversions to Catholicism.

Turin, April 28.

I AM told that an establishment has been formed here for the conversion of Protestants. A dissipated fellow who had received relief from ———, instead of going about his business, contrived to get again into distress; and, having applied to this institution, related with great glee that he had turned Catholic for the second time. It is true, added he, that I was so before, but I take care to make a very slow progress in religious

instruction ; so I can remain here and be well taken care of the whole winter.

The talents of the new French writers in the department of belles lettres are acknowledged here ; but their vile and immoral tendency is regarded, as well here as in other parts of Italy, with just aversion ; the principles of the modern historical school of Paris are also justly disliked.



## LETTER XXIX.

Turin—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Picture-Gallery—  
Academy.

Turin, May 3rd.

THE new papal state paper, with all its supplements, has fallen into my hands. Although I have not time to read it through, I can see that it is written in a good clear logical style. Instead, however, of troubling you with a repetition of a subject so often discussed, I will give you an impartial proof how far the unbridled fanaticism of catholics can carry them towards a forgetfulness of all justice and humanity. On the 19th of September, 1572, Tiepolo, the Venetian, then at Madrid, writes as follows, to Duke Emanuel of Savoy, on the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

“ Chi tacerà a questo tempo le glorie della corona di Francia non solo non sarà Cristiano ma neppure uomo civile. Giovane, da così lontano principio, ha saputo e potuto condurre a fine sì gran negozio, e la fraude antiquata è stata dalla prudenza di un giovane superata. In un sol colpo con diversi allettamenti ha saputo raccogliere e rinchiudere le vipere più possenti. Queste più venenose si sogliono raccogliere e rinchiudere per farne con la lor morte medicamento salutare agli ammalati. E questo nuovo Esculapio, o forse più vero Apollo, con l'istessa maniera ha partorito salute, non solo alla Francia, ma alla christianità, tutta che stava in punto di morte. Benedetto sia Dio, che ci ha fatto vedere a questo tempo cotal maraviglia. Stava il mondo in gran bilancio, ne sapeva alcun savio pronosticarne che male. Hora ognuno è atto a vederne qualunque bene. La Fiandra si vedrà presto pacificato. Le armi cristianissime con le cattoliche, non solo non inimiche, ma in servizio di Dio (così spero) unitissime, che azione di questo sorte riesce maggior legame che quello di matrimonio. La religione christiana fortificata, la guerra col Turco più solda e più ferma che ella mai fusse. Niun'altra conclusione adunque può farsi che buona. Questo non ho io potuto contenere di scrivere a Vostra Altezza per rallegrarmene, conoscendo quanto a lei, oltre il pubblico beneficio, possa importare tutto questo per la quiete dal pro-

prio stato. Ascrive adunque questo mio scrivere non a troppa licenza, ma a molto divozione.”\*

After passing some time to-day at the Archives di Camera, in looking through books of copies, and finding only a few original documents of which I could make any use, I went to the royal picture-

\* “He who could now be silent concerning the glory of the French crown would be, not only no christian, but no honest man. A young man has had the knowledge and capacity to bring to a conclusion so great a business from so distant an origin, and an ancient fraud has been overcome by the prudence of a youth. He has contrived, by various enticements, though by a single stroke, to draw together and to enclose the most powerful serpents—as it is customary to bring and shut up together the most poisonous kinds, that by their deaths they may prepare a salutary medicine for the sick. Thus has this new Esculapius, or rather this true Apollo, employed a similar method to ensure the safety not only of France, but of all christendom, which lay at the point of death. Blessed be God who has given unto us to behold such a miracle: the world stood in great peril, and the wisest could prognosticate nothing but evil. Now every one has some hopes of good. Flanders will soon be pacified, the most christian and the catholic army will now not only cease to fight one another, but unite, (so I hope) for the service of God, and conclude an alliance which shall be stronger than that of matrimony. The christian religion will be fortified, the war with the Turks more steadily and vigorously pursued than ever. No other than good consequences can follow. I could not resist writing to your Highness to express the joy of my heart, knowing what interest you take in this event, not only for the public welfare, but also on account of the tranquillity of your own states. I beg you therefore to ascribe the liberty I have taken, not to presumption, but to my great devotion.”

gallery, and am half tempted to break my resolution not to trouble you with descriptions of pictures. The collection is certainly richer and more various than it is in general supposed to be, and no lover of art should omit seeing it. There are some capital paintings by Ferrari, Luini, Bellini, Titian, Francia, Guido, Bronzino, Domenichino, Andrea del Sarto, Cesare, &c. A Raphael I should have taken, from the colouring, for a Giulio Romano, though the invention and design are in the manner of the former master. Cheerful pieces with children by Albani, exquisite flower and fruit pieces, Netherlanders of all classes, from general field-marshal Luca d'Olanda to Vandyke and later masters. There is an excellent crucifixion attributed to Mabuse, with a couple of female heads of extraordinary beauty. Two first-rate Claudes, &c. But to return to my last.

I have to-day completed my work on Lombardy. It may serve not only as a specimen of my industry, but also of my good fortune in having had such thoroughly well informed men to assist me. Of all that is contained in it you probably know nothing, and you might learn much from it—yet am I well convinced that scarcely any one will read it through. However this may be, it has at least afforded me both pleasure and occupation.

I dined yesterday with the Marchese Cavour,

and from him received much information concerning the situation of Turin. Count Balbo afterwards took me with him to the Academy, where Count Paluzzo officiated as President, and Counts Petiti and Sclopis read two excellent papers. It would puzzle me to find in ——— four such learned counts. Petiti argued against certain fallacies and fancies which have found their way into criminal statistics in France and the Netherlands, where everlasting truths are inferred from false figures, and a relation of cause and effect supposed, where it does not exist. For instance, it has been discovered that more crimes are committed in a country where many people can read ; as if reading, or not reading, could be a cause of theft. It often happens besides that no attention at all is paid to the opportunities and temptations to crime which may exist. For instance, it is considered remarkable that more should be stolen in London than in the Swiss mountains, where there is nothing to steal. The second treatise by Count Sclopis related the development of the notions of law in the middle ages, especially as respects Thomas Aquinas and Dante. It displayed profound thought and was well written. That the treatise *De Regimine Principum* could not be by Thomas Aquinas he maintained on the same grounds as I have advanced in my essay on the school divines.

## LETTER XXX.

Turin—Society—Holidays—Court Etiquette—Climate—  
Ecclesiastical Relations.

Turin, May 4th.

THE evening party yesterday was exactly like the preceding one at ——'s. These assemblies have a certain resemblance throughout Europe—at least, in their external forms—freedom of coming and going—conversation various but continually interrupted. As far as I know, an Italian *soirée* is no farther distinguished from an English rout than that tea and cooling beverages are offered to the guests. For beauty, I must certainly give the palm to the English ladies, but the entertainment in Italy is more frequently varied by music. Yesterday, a lady played the piano-forte with great brilliancy and precision, but the composition was the most trivial, confused, and unmeaning possible, and I thought the remark of Count ——, that piano-forte playing tired him after the first half-hour, very natural. After a little hesitation, I asked the name of the composer, and received the dreaded answer: "It is most likely some German stuff." When, however, the name of our Weber was mentioned, I boldly denied the possibility of its being his, or of his having ever written such trash. It turned out to be by Hertz!

Beauty is no doubt a great gift of God ; but the greater, rarer, and happier gift, that of knowing what is beautiful. This would appear to be as easy as to open one's eyes and ears ; yet does it not sometimes seem easier to discover the truth in politics, philosophy, or religion ?

Many houses were illuminated here last evening, especially those belonging to official persons of distinction. On inquiring the reason, I was told that it was the eve of the anniversary of the discovery of the holy napkin or handkerchief of St. Veronica. The police went round and recommended that all shops should be kept shut to-day, as such a piece of piety would prove acceptable. By-the-by, there is a dispute between Turin and some other city which of them possesses the genuine handkerchief.

I understand that it is the opinion of the authorities here that the people are not to be governed without the aid of superstition.

" I cannot ask you to come and see me to-morrow, or the day after," said a personage high in office to me, " for I *must* fast. We are closely watched to see whether we do this or not, and it has the greatest influence on our advancement, and on the favour or the contrary which is shown to us."

It is perhaps hardly fair to bring forward detached facts of this kind, as one is often tempted to



generalize too hastily from single instances. *Ex ungue leonem*, however, is often a correct rule enough. When I look with admiration and reverence on the noble style of the Catholic churches, and then hear such trivialities spoken of as essential points from which it is terrible heresy to depart, it seems to me as if any one should shew me a cork model of the Colosseum, and declare it to be the real one.

It became a question whether I should apply to be presented to the king; but being informed that it was absolutely indispensable that I should appear in a full and expensive court dress, such as I did not possess, I was obliged to renounce all hope of such an honour.

It is very well, perhaps, on extraordinary occasions to be strict in the observance of external forms, but in ordinary cases I cannot see that it is decorous to make the tailor the captain of the guard. These *sartorial* barriers shut out from kings many a useful prospect.

Turin is beautifully situated, in the centre of a rich plain, adorned and fertilized by two rivers; looking on one side towards Lombardy, and on the other to hills adorned with trees, churches, villas, and castles, while on the third and fourth sides rise the wild and rugged Alps, their summits clothed in everlasting snow.

The average height of the thermometer from January to August was 13° of Reaumur (61° F.), and there were 164 days fine for 95 rainy and 126 changeable. Since I have been here three violent thunder-storms have passed over the town, and the air has been purified, the dust laid, and the spring brought forward in all its splendour.

It is quite natural that ——— should disapprove of the present order of things; and he declared that, though he had always esteemed Germany, since he had lived in Italy he adored it. He considered it, nevertheless, necessary that a part of the Rhine country should belong to France. "*Il nous faut là un petit coin.*" He reminded me of the reply of the Prince de Ligne, who, when Joseph II. asked him what was said of him in Belgium, answered: "*On dit que votre Majesté veut notre bien,*" and of the dog in Faust, who, though small at first, gradually swells to an enormous size.

On account of the above-mentioned holy handkerchief of St. Veronica, the palace, the public buildings, and the residence of some official persons, were this day illuminated. The city on ordinary occasions is profoundly dark. The court will also attend the benediction in the church from four to six o'clock, for seventeen days.

It is stated that a sick nun here, who had been given up by the physicians, recovered, after swal-

lowing a few threads from the chemise of a female saint, administered to her in some broth. She died soon afterwards indeed, but of course she could not expect to escape the common fate of mortals. Tell our friend H—— to take care to get this medicine introduced into the Prussian Pharmacopœia. Another specific administered some time ago to a nun wrought a still more surprising miracle—namely, a double life! *Suum cuique*—Live and let live!

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### LETTER XXXI.

Turin—The Court—The Travelled Sergeant.

Turin, May 5th.

I HAVE just come from the palace, where I saw the king and queen pass through a saloon on their way to the church. First came the red-liveried attendants, then an immense number of civil and military officials (the uniform resembling that of Prussia) after them, pages with red coats, yellow breeches, and white stockings; then the king, the queen, chamberlains, ladies of honour, and all suitable appendages. The court is numerous—especially in the departments of the church and the chase. For the former, twenty-four chaplains, six domestic chaplains, and several almoners, besides physicians, ladies of the palace, &c. &c.

An old sergeant, to whose guidance I was entrusted, had, I found, been in Berlin, and in many parts of Germany. He was present at the battle of Eylau, and had afterwards been sent to Siberia.—So that he had been a traveller, as he said, *par force*. For several years he had learned no German, and always thought people were talking of or abusing him. It was not till he had got to Ratisbon that he was enabled by the instructions he received from a young and handsome girl to learn so much that he can still express himself tolerably in German. To my question, whether he thought he could get lessons for me from a similar teacher, he replied, with extreme courtesy, that I was much better qualified to give lessons here in pure Italian.

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### LETTER XXXII.

Turin—Royal Message.

Turin, May 8th.

THE king appears to have heard something of my presence here, and of the poverty of my wardrobe. In order that the law may, at the same time, be enforced and mitigated, a gracious command has been issued that I do this day, at eleven o'clock, visit the collection of medals and armour, in company with Count ———, and that I then and there await what may happen to me.

## LETTER XXXIII.

Turin—The Armoury—The King—Country Excursion—  
The Waldenses.

Turin, May 12.

I DROVE to the palace with Count——, and inspected the collection of medals and armour, founded by the present King Charles Albert. It is wonderful how much has been done in a short time. The collection of armour more particularly deserves notice, not merely in an historical point of view, for it contains many works of art of high value, among others a shield attributed to Benvenuto Cellini, the design and execution of which could not easily be exceeded in richness and beauty. The king came as I had been told he would. He is a tall man, with an expression of mildness and good-humour in his countenance. He spoke neither with affected haughtiness nor with affected condescension, but in a perfectly natural, simple, and sensible manner. Our conversation was chiefly about Sardinia, where, as you shall learn hereafter, the king has effected great and truly beneficial changes. I took the liberty to remind him of some Prussian matters, and to observe, that measures blamed in the commencement often in the end lead to great advantages, and ensure universal satisfaction.

On Thursday I went with Count—— through the verdant plain, richly studded with vines and trees, towards Pignerol. Thence we turned off in the direction of Latour, reached S. Margaritta, and paid a visit to Madame Bert, the widow of the *modérateur* of that name. In the evening we supped with three English ladies, one of whom is married to the son of Madame Bert. The two others have been travelling about in the world for the last three years.

On Friday, walked in the valley of Angrogne as far as Serres. A tremendous storm wetted us to the skin, affording Madame Bert an opportunity of assisting us unexpectedly with dry shirts and stockings. Visited the hospital, the gymnasium, and the seminary for young ladies. All these establishments were clean, orderly, and sensibly arranged, erected chiefly by the aid of contributions from abroad. In the afternoon drove towards Villars, as far as Bobbi. The evening like that of yesterday. A sad Babel, with four languages spoken at once.

Such is the dry index for two days, to which I must add, that I returned yesterday. I want time and skill to fill up the outline, and can only tell you, that I have seen and luxuriated in all the gradations of nature, from the richly cultivated plain of a sunny land to narrow alpine valleys, bordered by mountains capped with eternal snow; from the

rich vineyard and the chestnut grove, by the side of beetling rocks and foaming waterfalls, to gentians and alpine vegetation. In these regions I beheld a simple well-meaning race, who, unless persecuted, do harm to nobody, and have resisted every temptation to renounce allegiance to their oppressive government. While revelling in the beauties of nature, I did all I could to forget the atrocities committed in these valleys of the Waldenses, in the name of a religion of love. Even now, things are not as they should be, and as to anything like an equality of rights between the two sects, such a thing is not even dreamed of. The Waldenses are shut up in their valleys, as the Jews in the Jews' quarter; they are not permitted to make any fresh purchases of landed property, and constant endeavours are made to obtain by chicanery and insult what barbarity was unable to effect. During the time of the French (we must not allow their failings to make us forget their good points) toleration was much more general, and went much further; nor was there then even the semblance of priestly rule. Here we have a Catholic clergyman walling up every window in his house that he may not see the Protestant church. But let us remember Ireland! Truly, Protestant and Catholic have alike cause to smite their breasts, and cry out: Lord, be merciful to me a sinner!—How far are we still from the

genuine spirit of christianity ! how few of us are yet able to rise above mere sectarianism ! how many still place hatred higher than love !

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## LETTER XXXIV.

Turin—The Academy—An Old Beau—Anecdotes of  
Royalty.

Turin, May 13.

I attended yesterday, by invitation, a sitting of the physico-mathematical class of the Academy. A paper by M. Moris on some new Sardinian plants, and one by Minabrea, on the vibrations of strings, were of value in a scientific point of view ; that of Professor Gén  on the habits and instincts of some insects might have been listened to with interest even by ladies. I was introduced yesterday to the well-known ———, who still affects to be the *  gant   quatre  pingles*. It came out accidentally that he is much about my age, and I was angry with myself, or with my corporeal man, that I was not in a better state of preservation. On closer observation, however, I thought I could perceive that the colour in his face was produced externally, whereas mine proceeds uncalled for from within ; while from beneath the beautiful black hair of the head and whiskers some grey traitors were espied ; lastly, he would not lay aside his stick, his gout, as



he said, not permitting him to dispense with its aid. All these things considered, I thought my body entitled to a *réparation d'honneur*,

If I could recollect and write down all the curious things I occasionally hear, you would be more amused with my letters. For example, Charles Felix used to say that, but for the soldiers and the students, there would be no such things as public disturbances. He never could be prevailed upon to be present at any military exercises, and if he met any soldiers by accident, he used to draw the curtains of his carriage windows. "Give them," he said, "what uniform you like ; *fuggiranno !*"—After the restoration in 1814, King Victor Emanuel asked, in great anxiety, "what was to be done?" "For sevenpence, sire," replied an old legitimist minister, "your majesty may put everything into the best order immediately. Buy an old state-calendar for the year 90, and replace all as you find it there :—" and this wise counsel was literally followed.—When the ambassadors after the victory of the Austrians over the Neapolitans in 1821 pressed King Ferdinand to return to Naples, he made a thousand excuses, and at last exclaimed, "*Che voleé. Io sono anche Napolitano, ho paura !*" The man whom he with tears in his eyes and the most urgent entreaties had forced to accept the office of war-minister, he afterwards allowed to be tried and condemned, and it

was only by the most pressing solicitations that he was induced to save him from the last extremity of the law ! A text for a long commentary !

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## LETTER XXXV.

Journey from Turin to Genoa.

Genoa, May 17.

Just as I had closed my letter to you on my birthday, (the 14th,) I saw in the State Gazette an account of the death of Gans. A hint this to a colleague, his senior by many years. His death is a serious loss to the university and to his friends ; for though, misled by his talent, he gave way too much to declamation, and allowed his vanity sometimes to disturb his own tranquillity, yet he was kind-hearted, full of genius and information, and advancing years, while they increased his knowledge, would have corrected the restlessness of his character. But Heaven has willed it otherwise ! Peace be to his ashes, even though he repose by the side of his old antagonist, Klenze, who so lately went before him !

It was the finest weather possible, when, seated in the cabriolet, I left Turin for Genoa. To the left lay the richly cultivated hills, to the right the Po ; then past Montcarlier into the wide plain that

stretches away beyond Alessandria. Not but that there are many hills and undulations, but, above all, my eye feasted on the ocean of green wheat, on the meadows arrayed in the gayest colours, and the banks of the Tanaro ; and I rejoiced at the sound of the crickets (celebrated in Tieck's Travelling Poems) which I now heard again for the first time during the course of my present journey. At Asti, I could not refrain from tasting the celebrated wine, though I must own I thought the bottle of Sauterne given me by Count U—T—decidedly to be preferred.

Night is no man's friend, at least not in a diligence ; it passed away quickly, however, for we got on at a good pace. The old *Snail Post* in Prussia has indeed acquired some title to its name of *Schnell Post*, but is still behind the Piedmontese. Firstly, the horses go faster here ; secondly, men and horses are in readiness at the end of every stage, and the cattle are changed in two minutes at the most ; and this secures one, thirdly, against the intolerable *Schnapps* nuisance. Imitate what is good !

At daybreak, we had passed the summit of the new road, and were going down hill towards Genoa. Olives, fig-trees, and cypresses, announced that we had entered the second great division of Italy. I asked myself again, why the houses and palaces scattered along the sides of the mountains appeared

so much more romantic and poetical than those of so many other countries? It is certainly not owing to any prevailing excellence in an artistical point of view, nor in a superior state of preservation, nor in the occasional occurrence of picturesque decay; it is chiefly owing to the absence of any general rule, which elsewhere leads to such fatiguing repetitions. The individuality of the Italian character is as strongly marked in their houses as in their persons. Doors, windows, roofs, arches, chimneys, &c. are designed and disposed by every man according to his own fancy or judgment, without troubling himself about the laws of architecture, the opinions of his neighbours, or the censure of travelling critics.

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## LETTER XXXVI.

Situation of Genoa—Marchese di Negro—Disturbance on account of the Opera Dancers' Drawers.

Genoa, May 18th.

I ENJOYED a spectacle of nature yesterday, such as one cannot hope to meet with often in the course of a life. At the commencement of the Strada Muraglette, I mounted the wall which separates the city from the port, outstretched in the form of a vast bow, and passed the Ponte (quay) della Segna, the Ponte Spinola, the Ponte Reale, that della Mercanza, and the Mandraccio, and then

walked along the Molo Vecchio out into the sea; then on to the end of the city, and returned the same way. The sky was covered with clouds of every shape and colour, and the waves were running remarkably high. In the distance, the sea appeared of a deep azure; assuming a lighter shade in proportion to its proximity, then a greenish, then a yellowish tinge, till the angry waves that broke upon the rocks below were dissolved into a white foam, or, dashing immediately against the walls, threw up their spray into the street. Sometimes a recoiling wave would encounter another that was following close behind, and in the furious onset that ensued both would break, resolving themselves apparently into innumerable fragments of snowy down. I never beheld the sea more beautiful or more magnificent. Then you must bear in mind the many deviations of the way, the endless variety of the prospect along the shore: the new Molo and the lighthouse closing the prospect on one side; then the beautiful hills with their gardens and villas, that rise behind the Strada della Lanterna; the fortifications, on their summits; houses, churches, and palaces crowding together; the hills rising in terraces one above another; the whole forming a panorama that few spots in the world can match.

This enjoyment was repeated in the afternoon, at the house of the Marchese G. C. di Negro, an

agreeable well-informed man, and almost the only one who sees company and receives strangers. He has a splendid collection of engravings, including some specimens of Albrecht Dürer, and many rare specimens of the old masters. Also a beautiful antique basso-relievo representing combats, and other works of art in such number as can be brought together only where great wealth and good taste are combined. All this was, however, of secondary importance to me. The garden, with its olive-trees, its oranges, lemons, rose-bushes, vines, terraces, mossy rocks, and palm-tree, reminded me of the gardens of Armida. In every direction the view is unique. The city, the hills, the harbour, the sea; you have elsewhere beautiful prospects in two or three directions, but here you have them in each of the thirty-two points of the compass, and in such rapid and varied succession do they follow, that you are at a loss to which to give the preference.

At table a new discovery. It was only on the last day of my stay at Venice, that I was introduced at the Ateneo to the Sicilian Marchese G—, who gave me letters for Sicily. Yesterday, three of his daughters were of the party, and I sat next to one of them—a lady, full of life, and, what will surprise you more, full of information. The sisters would gladly have seen me at Venice, but had been told that I was a *fiero protestante*. You may thence

judge what *epitheta ornantia* would fall to the lot of certain persons in Berlin !

I must tell you of a great revolution that has broken out here in the drawers of the ballet-dancers. These ladies were wont, as with us, to make their rotatory and saltatory movements in flesh-coloured drawers made of a knitted fabric denominated *tricot*. One evening they made their appearance on the stage in green pantaloons that descended some way below the knee. General surprise and horror ensued, and every body was asking whence and why the innovation. The replies were various. According to some, the new fashion was an importation from Naples; according to others the police at least was innocent of this public outrage, and, in a true spirit of conservatism, was decidedly opposed to so ill-timed a reform. At the second performance, the said pantaloons had shrunk visibly in their dimensions, either in the wash or through some other external cause, so that there was a prospect that, by a gradually progressive abridgment, they would in time be reduced to the moderate dimension of the antique fig-leaf. Renewed impatience, however, on the part of the public, and a new budget of explanations. It was said that the manager was about to marry a virgin under the protection of the Jesuits, and that the lady had insisted on a change in the pantaloons of

the ballet-dancers. Many accused the manager of an intentional violation of decorum, and he was hooted in the public streets, and advised to wear his wife's drawers, because ——. The police, however, has thought the matter rather too serious; many young men have been arrested, and others have gone into the country, to avoid a similar visitation. Reports have been drawn up, and these, together with a variety of sample pantaloons, have been duly submitted to the proper authorities. As yet it is quite uncertain how the matter will end, or what form and constitution the ballet-dancers' pantaloons will finally assume.

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### LETTER XXXVII.

Turin—Carlo Felice Theatre.

Genoa, May 19th.

I WENT last night to the Carlo Felice theatre. I thought the still unsettled pantaloon agitation, together with a new ballet, would insure a crowded house; but I found it nearly empty, and had abundant time to count the six rows of boxes, and to examine the drop scene with the most scrupulous exactness. *Il Giuramento di Mercadante*, I had been told, displayed a knowledge of harmony, and belonged, in some measure, to the modern German



school. Of the said knowledge I could discover no trace, and as to the Germanism, it consisted at most in a few reminiscences of Weber, and his occasional fragmentary style, but his genius and invention were altogether wanting. To my judgment, the music was bad, nor was a hand stirred throughout the whole of the first act. The singers were insignificant, though the women had one recommendation, namely, that they did not scream so terribly loud as is done in most places. I longed for the ballet, for I had made a vow to remain to the end of the performance. Yet, so tedious and full of dry repetitions was the whole, that I would fain have broken my vow, had I not been so hemmed in that I could not stir. I am happy to say I have now done my duty to the theatre as far as Genoa is concerned.

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### LETTER XXXVIII.

Genoa—The Sudario—Politics—Queen Victoria.

Genoa, May 20th.

YESTERDAY was Whitsunday. A sentimental declaimer might conjure up a highly coloured picture on the subject, but I have no talent for such things, and must candidly own, that I saw nothing uncommon or remarkable. In the churches the music was bad, and more profane than sacred; in

costumes I saw nothing to be noticed, unless it be the white veils of the ladies. The streets were crowded, and here, for the first time, I recognized the genuine beauty of Italy ; there was, indeed, no lack of ugliness, but there is, upon the whole, more character and distinction among the women, than I have seen anywhere since I left Trieste.

An Italian advised me to go to the church of St. Bartolomeo, and see what was shown only on that day, and remained, during the other 364 days, closely concealed under fourteen locks and keys, namely another *Sudario* ! Now, though I do not exactly play the *fiero protestante*, yet I could not help avowing myself on this point a sceptic, with not the least inclination to trouble myself about such matters. The *Sudario*, said my informant, was, at all events, a remarkable specimen of Constantinopolitan manufacture in the middle ages. This was certainly looking at the subject in a different point of view ; still I preferred the beauties of nature to the curiosities of the Byzantine loom.

Many of the churches are built in a very bad taste, and even Carignan is a cold whitewashed imitation of St. Peter's. Statues, as I have already said, that do not exist for me, or for which I have not been created ; for connoisseurs, there are some better pictures in a good state of preservation, by Güercino, Procaccini, Piola, and others.

A general complaint here is, that the walls around the harbour are raised so much, by way of preventing smuggling, that the terraces and the best floors are completely deprived of view. I can scarcely believe it; such barbarism would be too bad, and what is more, the object proposed would certainly not even be attained.

- Tuesday, May 21st.

I have not talked politics to you for a long time, and am sadly in arrear with my newspaper reading, still I cannot suppress an ejaculation over late occurrences in Paris. The French fancy themselves at the head of the movement and at the head of civilization; yet is it not true that they are labouring without rest or intermission to advance on the road to liberty, at a regular horse-in-the-mill style? What object have they in view? What general principle is recognised among them? Where is there a sympathy of feeling founded upon truth and justice? Instead of these, we have a constant return to arbitrary power, constant dissatisfaction and murder and slaughter for what happens to be the caprice of the hour, either with the high mob or the low. The better part of the nation, it is true, keep aloof, but they also are affected by these occurrences, as is shown by the bankruptcies in France and Belgium; besides, a long conti-

nuance of such a morbid condition must affect the moral and religious character of a nation.

Peel, it seems, has not been able to shake off the Ultra-Tories, or to forget that the bow must not be bent too much. It was surely enough for the queen to leave him perfectly unrestrained in the formation of the government; she was right not to allow her female friends to be taken from her, not to endure an act of oppression which the meanest woman in her kingdom would have struggled against. Her firmness of character will gain her many partizans, particularly among the women; and, for my own part, I am delighted to see a queen show that a monarch should not be a mere puppet, an empty symbol, a political machine, to be wound up, set agoing, and allowed to stand still again, according to the will of another. There was no sufficient political ground for a demand that she should part with her female associates; it was an "ungentlemanlike" demand; and the minister who has a majority in the two houses, or knows how to acquire one, need not be frightened by a handful of old women; no, nor of young girls either. The queen, impelled by a quick feeling of justice, has rightly scouted these abstract party notions. God speed her farther!

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## LETTER XXXIX.

Piedmont—Administration—Council of State—Jurisprudence  
—Municipal Regulations—Turin; Revenues and Expenditure of the City.

Turin, May 4th.

AN inhabitant of Turin said to me: "We are one half a camp, and the other half a cloister." There is no want certainly of the elements to form the two parts, that is to say there is no want of soldiers or priests, who, with their motley uniforms, attract the attention of strangers, and the partiality or dislike of the natives.

As there is neither a representative, nor a parliamentary nor a mixed constitution in the Sardinian states, everything reposes on the royal family and the administration. The royal family has for centuries kept certain plans steadily in view, and has gained the attachment of the people, by enlarging their rights, and imposing limits on the extravagant privileges of individuals and corporations. We frequently find the Sardinian monarchs, in this respect, in the same road that has been taken by those of Prussia. In such a state of things, an undue preponderance of the class of public officers, a certain degree of bureaucracy, is unavoidable. This, in Prussia, has in some measure been corrected by

the collegiate form, and in more recent times by the town and provincial states ; whereas, in Turin, the complaint is, that the system of centralization has of late years been constantly on the increase. Take it all in all, a strong government is better than a weak one ; still I think it a very mistaken idea to suppose it more easy to govern a multitude of individuals than a small number of corporations.

We have here five ministers or secretaries of state : for the Interior, for War and the Marine, for Finance, for Justice, and for Foreign Affairs. There is a separate administration for Sardinia, and altogether different arrangements, of which I shall speak further in the sequel.

In each province, the whole power of government is placed in the hands of an intendant, who, if in some subordinate relations inferior to the French prefect, is greater, inasmuch as he has no council or independent body to control him. Intendants of an inferior class are appointed for the towns and districts. The salaries of these officers vary from 800 to 6600 lire. All these persons are removeable, and it is likely that here, as well as in France, this power is carried to an injurious length. On account of this excess of the personal over the collegiate and formal, the establishment of a council of state was a great advantage. Concerning its constitution and the progress

of legislation, I communicate the following particulars from the new civil code. It is there stated, that the king alone has the right of making laws. These, after being heard in council, are issued either as edicts or as letters patent. They are signed by the king, as well as by the minister whom they may concern, and by the comptroller-general. These latter, as well as other ministers, are required to examine the laws before affixing the Great Seal to them, and if they see anything objectionable in them, to communicate their scruples to the king. The duty of a similar revision of laws not yet promulgated is also imposed on some of the superior tribunals.

The state-council is the centre of all important discussions. It consists of a president and fourteen ordinary members. Among the extraordinary ones, whose number is not determined, are two knights of the order of the *Annunziata*, two bishops, and fourteen members for the provinces.

It is considered beneath the dignity of a member of this council to hold any paid office. The ministers, however, are allowed, at the command of the king, to assist at the council, but they have no vote.

This council is divided into three departments: 1st,—that of the interior; 2ndly,—that for legal and ecclesiastical affairs; and 3rdly, for finance.

The first and third can form a board with only three members, the second with not less than five.

It is the business of the council to debate on and examine all laws and ordinances; (and it is to be hoped they may never neglect this part of their duty) —to determine, in case of dispute, the exact boundaries of the power and office of each minister—to hear appeals from the senate and upper financial chamber—to receive proposals for the imposition of fresh taxes, or for changes to be made in those already existing—for loans—for the erection of schools and other benevolent institutions—for improvements in agriculture or manufactures, &c.—but to take no cognisance of matters connected with war, foreign affairs, or with the household.

In every district there is a *giudice da mandamento*, who hears disputes concerning property, to the amount of 300 lire, but from whose judgment an appeal is permitted, when the amount exceeds 100, or when a fine of more than 10 lire is inflicted. In each of the 37 provinces, there is a *tribunale di prefettura*, with a president, and from two to six councillors, one government advocate, and subordinate officers. They decide in the first instance in all cases for which there is no other tribunal, and on all such as are usually considered to belong to the *droit administratif*. Every one is obliged, during



the sittings, to wear a black robe of office, and questions are decided by a majority of voices.

With respect to the cities, there are laws of 1738, 1775, and 1783, which are still in force, and are referred to in the more recent regulations of 1815 and 1838. Turin, Genoa, and some other towns having particular privileges, excepted, they are all governed by the above-mentioned laws. There is no representative body of citizens to exercise any control over the magistracy, but the whole conduct of affairs lies in the hands of the intendant and his superiors.

In justification of this mode of procedure are alleged the dangers from the neighbourhood of France, from the Italian national character, and from the tendency towards an oligarchical concentration of power in the hands of a few, to the injury of the bulk of the people, which would be sure to arise from elections.

Every town of more than 3000 inhabitants has one syndic and five councillors; and those of from 1000 to 3000, one syndic, and from three to five councillors.

These magistrates, according to ancient custom, receive no pay, and since the influence of the intendant and the ministers has been so much increased, the desire to fill those offices has perceptibly declined. They perform indeed many useful

and praiseworthy offices in the city, but it is nevertheless maintained by those who are qualified to give an opinion, that their authority is far too much circumscribed by the extension of the central and ministerial power, and that the municipal spirit has been weakened by this means, and a prejudice created, that the only security for order and freedom rests on the adoption of a uniform system of allowing all power to emanate from the government.

Very different from this general system is that yet prevailing in Turin. Sixty decurions, 30 from the nobles and 30 from the other classes of citizens are chosen for life, for the direction of general affairs. The election is made thus : the four elder decurions, called *Chiavari*, two of the first and two of the second class, draw up two lists in which each class proposes three persons for every vacant place. It is permitted to canvass for the office of a decurion. When the *Chiavari* have agreed as nearly as possible with the magistrates, (*congregazione* and *ragioneri*) respecting the proposal, the double register is submitted to the decurions, who fill up the vacant offices from the names they find there.

The magistracy (*la congregazione*) is composed of two burgomasters, or syndics, for the two classes, a president of the finance department, four accountants, a keeper of the archives, a secretary, the two burgomasters for the preceding year, and ten

councillors. The latter are chosen, an equal number from each class. The decurions choose the burgomasters, the president of finance and the councillors for one year, and the accountants for two years. The burgomasters must have been previously accountants, and the finance president-burgomaster. The burgomasters chosen directly by the decurions on the 31st of December are merely presented to the king on the first of January; neither a previous inquiry nor subsequent satisfaction being necessary. On the other hand, a deputy, chosen from among the decurions by the king, is always present at the sittings, though not directly taking part in the proceedings, to watch that no injury be offered to the rights of the crown.

The yearly receipts and expenses of the city of Turin are nearly as follows:—

#### RECEIPTS.

- |                                                                                                                                     |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. From the taxes on consumption,<br>which bring in to the state about<br>1,600,000 lire, the city receives a<br>fixed sum of ..... | lire.<br>430,000 |
| 2. Tax on hay, straw, and oats .....                                                                                                | 140,000          |
| 3. Toll at the mills, 1-16th of the flour,<br>including the expense of grinding ...                                                 | 300,000          |
| 4. Butchers' tax .....                                                                                                              | 100,000          |
| 5. Tax on all venders of provisions (4 to<br>10 lire).....                                                                          | 30,000           |

## EXPENCES OF TURIN.

243

|                                 |           |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
|                                 | lire.     |
| 6. Various fixed receipts ..... | 100,000   |
| 7. Uncertain receipts .....     | 200,000   |
| Total                           | 1,300,000 |

### EXPENCES.

|                                                                |             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Interest, life annuities 400,000 }<br>fixed ..... 300,000 } | ... 700,000 |
| 2. Lighting of the city .....                                  | 300,000     |
| 3. Police .....                                                | 80,000      |
| 4. Country expenditure (for instance for<br>roads) .....       | 60,000      |
| 5. Foundling hospitals .....                                   | 40,000      |
| 6. Salaries .....                                              | 40,000      |
| 7. Schools .....                                               | 60,000      |
| 8. Sundries .....                                              | 20,000      |
| Total                                                          | 1,300,000   |

This statement might furnish occasion for some inquiries, if I had more time to pursue them. For instance, whether the independence of the smaller towns might not be increased, since the great privileges of the capital do not seem to have produced any disadvantageous results to the general government? Whether it might not be possible to re-awaken and keep alive the idea of the duties of the citizen, as well as of councillors and decurions? Whether the yearly duration of the syndicate, and the simultaneous change of both burgomasters, be

productive of no inconvenience? Whether it would not be better to appropriate to the maintenance of the poor the funds now devoted to the vicious foundling hospitals, since there is at present no provision for them in Turin? It is true that some benevolent attempts have been made to supply this deficiency, but it appears to me a very mistaken method of effecting this end, to furnish paupers with an official license to beg on the high road.

It is to be hoped that this practice will soon be abandoned, and the idle objections now made to a better system be overcome.

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### LETTER XL.

Piedmont—Code of Laws—Ecclesiastical Law—Waldenses, Jews—Law of Marriage—Domains—Majorats.

Turin, May 5th.

SINCE the year 1838, a new civil code has been adopted in the Sardinian states.

The earlier administration of justice reposed on general laws (*costituzioni*) local statutes, and decisions of the court. Respecting the first, Pecchio says, in his excellent work on political economy, (p. 232) "Piedmont was the first country which, by its *costituzioni* of 1729, abolished nearly the whole system of feudal authority and personal

service, leaving scarcely any but honorary privileges in force. Secondly, it limited the right of primogeniture and of entailment, and thereby enlarged the free cultivation of the soil. Thirdly, it diminished the power of the clergy, more particularly that of investing land in mortmain. These costituzioni were revised in 1770, and confirmed with few alterations."

I would gladly make a few extracts from the recent code, but a few points may be sufficient to give you an idea of its merits, as well as of its defects. Duelling is punished with death, even though neither combatant should be killed or wounded. The torture may be applied in cases where the punishment would be death, or a sentence to the galleys. The Jews are confined to a separate street, must wear a yellow badge, are not allowed to go out at night, or to purchase landed property. All forests are under the superintendence of the state, &c.

In 1803, the French code was introduced, but in 1814 abolished, when the former system was restored. This sudden change occasioned much confusion and dissatisfaction, and a few isolated ordinances were insufficient to reduce the legal chaos into anything like harmony. The present king, therefore, very wisely directed a new code to be drawn up. In their instructions, dated the 7th of

June, 1831, those intrusted with the task are told that "they are to condense the national laws, and introduce such changes as inexperience and the modern relations of society may render necessary; but they are not to show any partiality for innovation, unless the utility be perfectly evident."

Unquestionably the adoption of the new code was a great improvement, compared with the previously existing state of things. Complaints continued, however, to be made, partly against the general character of the code, partly against individual paragraphs. The most remarkable attack has been that of Count Portalis, which has been met by the defence of Count Sclopis. The former maintains and the latter denies that the motive of the promulgation was to extinguish all traces of the code of Napoleon. Neither the assertion nor the denial, in my opinion, make either for or against the merit of the composition. To love the old because it is old is just as absurd as to hate the new because it is new. A more positive and severe censure is directed by Count Portalis against the first three paragraphs, which are these:—

1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the only religion of the state.

2. The king feels it an honour to be the protector of the Church, and to enforce obedience to all its laws, the promulgation of which pertains to the

Church. The high officers of the government are to see to the maintenance of perfect unanimity between Church and State, and exercise their authority in all ecclesiastical matters, according to law and ancient usage.

3. Other confessions are only tolerated in the state according to the customs and ordinances already existing with respect to them.

When Count Sclopis, in defence of these articles, asserts that the ancient usages for a long period maintained real tranquillity in Piedmont, while in neighbouring states religious disturbances frequently broke out, the assertion is correct, as far as the relation of the Catholic Church to the Catholic State is concerned; but to their too intimate connexion may be attributed the sanguinary scenes which occurred in the valleys of the Waldenses about the beginning of the 18th century. The third paragraph, it must also be owned, is often successfully made use of by zealots, to induce the government to maintain severe restrictions, and even to renew such as may have fallen into disuse. Among these is the regulation by which the Waldenses are prohibited from acquiring landed property without the limits of their narrow district; and that which directs the illegitimate child of a Vaudois mother to be taken from her by force, and to be brought up as a catholic, whatever the religion



of the father may be, and even though he should be willing to marry the mother. By another regulation, the Catholic clergy and the magistrates are authorised to take away even legitimate children, should these declare their willingness to become converts to the Catholic faith ; and, to make such a declaration, a boy need only have completed his twelfth and a girl her eleventh year. The means employed for attaining this end are never censured, and, if successful, the seducer is always considered to have performed a meritorious act.

I cannot certainly approve of *every* measure adopted lately by the Prussian government with respect to the Catholic Church, but there can be no greater injustice than to speak of the king of Prussia as a persecutor of the Catholics, seeing that in a thousand ways he shows himself quite as solicitous for their welfare as for that of the Protestants ; that restrictions like those mentioned above are unheard of ; that his General Field Marshal was a Catholic, and that the rector of the university, elected in 1839, and confirmed by the King, is a most zealous Catholic.

The Jews in Prussia sometimes complain of trifling disabilities, but I would advise them to come hither, if they wish to know what restriction means. Clubs and reading-societies, into which Jews had been admitted, have been ordered by govern-

ment to expel them. Such laws account for the small number of Jews or Protestants to be found in the country.

By the Sardinian law on the subject of marriage, a betrothal can be brought before a court of law, only when reposing on some public act, or on a document legally signed and sealed. The betrothed must have had the consent of their parents, or of the father or mother, if only one survive; or if both be dead, that of the nearest ascending relatives on the father's side. If every prescribed form have been observed, the party withdrawing from the contract must indemnify the other for every injury sustained. In case of a separation between a father and mother, the children remain under the care of the latter till their fourth year, unless the court see sufficient reason to direct the contrary. At the end of the fourth year, the court decides which of the two parents shall be charged with their farther education. Illegitimate children may be legitimized by a subsequent marriage, or by a royal ordinance, unless either of the parents was married at the time of the birth, and unless the parents were either within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, or under the obligation of a religious vow.

The affiliation of a child is not permitted, unless the accused be still living, have already assumed

the duties of a father, or have given a promise in writing that he would do so.

The civil registration is in the hands of the clergy, in virtue of an agreement with the pope. A man at his death may dispose of two-thirds of his property, if he have two children, or of the half, if he have more than two children. A Catholic renouncing his faith forfeits all right of inheritance. What would Catholics say, if it were made a part of the Prussian law, that a father might disinherit his daughter, if she became a Catholic or a public prostitute? Yet substitute the word Protestant for Catholic, and you will find the two grounds for disinheritance stated, as of equal force, in the code of Parma!

The crown-lands, according to the Sardinian code, are inalienable, and all agreements for such alienations, under whatever conditions, null and void. From this prohibition, however, are excepted cases of pressing necessity or obvious utility, for the defence or augmentation of the state, for instance, or for the acquirement of other possessions, provided the full amount of the value be paid into the royal treasury, the crown retaining, nevertheless, the right of rescinding the bargain.

Concerning the *majorat*, or law of entail, a new law was promulgated on the 14th of October, 1837, which endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of the

former one, and set aside entails. With respect to the latter, Pecchio says in his History of Political Economy, "The younger sons, those victims of the law of entail, had no other right in the family than the degrading one of sitting at the table of the first-born, and no other means of maintenance than the sword or the breviary; for all other occupations, be they ever so profitable, were closed against them by a false notion of honour.

"In order to remedy this injustice, the government committed a second, and bestowed the highest dignities, civil and military, on the younger sons of noble families. Merit without birth had, therefore, no chance of promotion; and the spur of emulation was wanting to the nobly born. The cities were filled with abbés leading scandalous lives, the convents with idlers; families were divided by civil war, and the country was sunk in superstition."

The above-mentioned new law provided that the permission to found majorats should be reserved to those who, on account of services rendered by the crown, might be esteemed worthy of such favour. For such a purpose, it is necessary to prove a clear income of at least 10,000 lire in land; the affair must be discussed in the council of state, and the permission confirmed by the king. One tenth of the amount of the income must be devoted to the purchase of stock in the public funds, and, should

the founder of the majorat have no other property, one excluded child has a claim for a sixth ; two or more, for a fourth of the income of the majorat.

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## LETTER XLI.

The Army—Military Schools.

Turin, May 6th.

IN my last letter I touched upon a few points of civil law ; to-day, without pretending to anything like a complete statement, I will notice a few of the points of military law.

A very circumstantial ordinance of the 16th December, 1837, enacts, on the subject of the conscription, that it is to be raised in proportion to the population, the selection being made by lot from the classes between the ages of 18 and 24. The army is divided into the regular and provincial, (*ordinanze e provinciale.*) At the end of eight years' service, the regular soldier receives his discharge. The provincial remains one year under arms, and then receives leave of absence, but is under an obligation to join the army again at any time within seven years, if called upon to do so. At the end of eight years, he passes over to the reserve, and at the end of sixteen years he is com-

pletely free. The provincial cavalry serve three years with the regular army, and then remain at home, but liable to be called out again for thirteen years. The provincial artillery serve three years, receive a furlough for six years, and are then attached to the reserve for four years more.

Clergymen, seamen, pupils in the military schools, and Jews are exempt, but the last are obliged to pay. Eldest sons of widows, eldest brothers of orphans, &c., are excused. Married men, widowers with children, only sons of farmers and mechanics, &c., are usually turned over to the provincial army. Substitutes are allowed, but must be approved of by the authorities. The provincial soldiers on furlough must be inspected and reviewed once a year. The provincial infantry is about four times as numerous as that of the regular army, but the provincial cavalry and artillery compose but a trifling force.

Promotion generally takes place according to seniority. Non-commissioned officers can rarely advance beyond the rank of lieutenant.

In the military school at Turin, 85 pupils, chiefly orphans or the sons of officers, are maintained at the king's expense. A selection takes place, after examination, from among the candidates for admission. In a second college, there are 100 free places for sons of officers, 100 pay half, and 50

two-thirds of the usual charge. In both institutions pupils are received on payment of the full amount. All royal pupils are obliged to serve sixteen years. The country is divided into 7 military districts:—Turin, Alessandria, Cuneo, Savoy, Nizza, Novara, Genoa; over each of these a governor is appointed. I will not presume to make any comments on these arrangements; still I cannot but consider it matter of congratulation that efforts are thus made to form a national army, and that the enlistment of foreigners for the defence of the country has been abandoned.

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## LETTER XLII.

Piedmont—Schools—Gymnasiums—Universities.

Turin, May 7th.

A very general complaint here is, that elementary schools are still wanting in many places, and that where they exist they are under the superintendence of ignorant and ill-paid teachers. The Italian schools, as they are called, where the instruction is carried a little farther, are mostly in the hands of the *fratelli ignoranti*, who, though they are called ignorant, must, I should think, possess the little knowledge required of them. The clergy, no doubt, are exerting themselves to obtain the exclusive direction of the instruction of youth, and to fashion it

entirely in conformity with their own views. These views they proclaim to be holy, christian, and anti-revolutionary ; but many complain, that every advance of science is looked on with jealousy, every freedom of thought treated as heresy, the ignorance of the multitude considered an advantage to the government, and passive obedience lauded the highest degree of virtue. A minister is said to have openly declared himself an enemy to all science and to all men of learning ; and it appears that a society, which had raised a large sum by subscription for the establishment of infant schools, has dissolved itself, in consequence of an order to place them under the superintendence of the monks, and to entrust the tuition exclusively to nuns.

I am not one of those who would exclude the clergy altogether from exercising any influence over schools, as if they were the only class liable to professional prejudices and passions ; but history proves that exclusive influence confided to the clergy tends to the worst of tyranny, because no other community or corporation has the same opportunity of instilling its own prejudices and passions as sacred truths.

A collection of laws for the regulation of schools was printed in 1834. According to these, the instruction given in the elementary schools is gratuitous. The lessons begin and end with prayer. The



gymnasiums (*collegi*) are divided into six classes: three junior, one of grammar, one of humanity, and one of rhetoric. The branches of instruction and class-books are prescribed. Besides the ordinary teachers, every gymnasium has a prefect, who is often changed, and whose duty it is to enforce discipline among teachers and scholars, and a spiritual director. Under the last named, the following exercises occur daily. Every morning; 1, a quarter of an hour of religious reading; 2, the hymn, *Veni creator*; 3, according to the season, the Ambrosian hymn, and other extracts from the *Ufficio della beata Vergine*; 4, mass; 5, hymn of the litanies of the holy virgin; 6, spiritual instruction; 7, the psalm, *Laudate Dominum*, and a prayer for the king. In the afternoon: 1, a quarter of an hour of religious reading; 2, hymn and prayer; 3, three quarters of an hour explanation of the catechism. The school lasts  $3\frac{1}{4}$  hours in the forenoon, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours in the afternoon. Thursday is a whole holiday. Where the funds of the school are insufficient, a boy in the three junior classes pays 15 francs a year, and in the upper classes, 20 francs, besides 8 or 12 francs on being promoted from one class to another. The salaries of the teachers are paid partly by the government and partly by the towns, and amount to from 750 to 1200 lire per annum, with some trifling addition

in case of long service. The retiring pensions also depend on the period of service, but the highest pension never exceeds the lowest salary. Where the ability is the same, clergymen are always to be preferred. No teacher must cause anything to be printed either in or out of the kingdom without submitting his manuscript first to the ordinary censorship, and then to the censorship of the *rimforma*. The *magistrato di riforma* is a kind of ministry of public instruction, and has a *consiglio di riforma* under it in every province. Among its other duties, occurs that of prescribing what books shall be used in instruction, although, in the episcopal seminaries, and some others under the guidance of ecclesiastical orders, such as the Jesuits, the Barnabites, &c., it has little influence.

The scholars of the gymnasiums are not allowed to read any books which have not been either given or furnished by the prefect. They are forbidden to swim, to frequent theatres, balls, coffee or gaming houses ; to perform in private plays, and the like ; and it is the business of the police to see these prohibitions attended to.

There is in Turin one head university, with four faculties ; and there are secondary universities (*università secondarie*) in Chamberi, Asti, Mondovi, Nizza, Novara, Saluzzo, and Vercelli, either for the study of medicine alone, or for medicine and jurispru-

dence together. The universities have no legal right to make proposals for the appointment to vacant places, and there is consequently no canvassing. This is by some regarded as an advantage, though it is stated on the other hand that hasty and partial nominations are more frequent on this system.

There are three academical degrees, those of bachelor, licentiate, and laureate; and the holidays are on the whole more frequent than with us.

The students are not only under strict scientific superintendence, but also under the close *surveillance* of the police. No student is allowed to choose his dwelling or leave it without permission of the prefect, who often appoints the place where he is to lodge and board.

Whoever wishes to receive students into his house must undertake the responsibility for their observance of the laws which regulate their going to mass and confession, fasting, and even their clothing and their beards. Neglect of these rules is punished by exclusion from the examinations, or from the university itself.

With respect to the great abundance of devotional exercises, I may be permitted to remark that, though the reference to piety and devotion, as to that which should mingle in all sciences and in every action of our lives, be undoubtedly praiseworthy, and for Catholics it is right to prefer Tho-

mas à Kempis to Ovid as a school-book, I cannot help doubting if the constant repetition of these prescribed forms be really advisable. Without considering that many must regard them as mere loss of time, it would be scarcely possible to avoid one of two errors—either that of an over-estimation of mere external observances, and a consequent disregard of true inward holiness, or an indifference and disgust easily excited in young minds, when the highest and holiest subjects become matters of daily and mechanical routine.

In the second place, that the school instruction should devolve wholly on Catholic clergymen may have one advantage in an economical point of view, since, being without families, they are better able to maintain themselves on a small income; but it can scarcely escape the objection of bestowing only a one-sided education, or avoid the danger of having many branches of instruction under the superintendence of those who are themselves little instructed; unless ecclesiastics should be obliged to devote themselves to studies foreign to their vocation. The existence of a lurking wish to extend and strengthen by this means the power and dominion of the Church is the more evident, as establishments for education are daily arising, which are entirely withdrawn from temporal influence. I repeat that such a system as this appears to me

quite as one-sided and disadvantageous as the opposite one.

In the third place, what is called the philosophical course is here, still less than in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, such as to afford any compensation for the meagreness of the education afforded at the gymnasium. How, for instance, can a single lesson or lecture a week in Greek grammar make amends for many years' academical study of that difficult language, or afford any preparation for the studies of the university, in themselves meagre enough? Besides, there is merely a choice offered to the quasi-student, whether he will learn Greek or history. Should he prefer history, he must renounce Greek altogether.

Fourthly, much might be said against the subordinate universities above-mentioned. They were established at a time when the unquiet dispositions of the Turin students had turned towards politics, and occasioned much trouble to the government, which endeavoured to weaken them by scattering them thus over the country. It may be doubted, nevertheless, whether this lasting resource against a merely temporary evil has proved really effectual.

It is at all events likely that the number of ignorant students has been thereby increased, and the instruction deteriorated from the diminution of the

number of learned professors. The German universities sometimes exhibit the dangers of too much liberty, those of this country the evils of too much restraint. The time must come in a young man's life when even paternal authority must cease—much more, then, the discipline of a school.

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### LETTER XLIII.

Piedmont—Improvements of all kinds—Population—  
Foundling-Hospitals.

Genoa, May 17th.

It belongs neither to my nature nor my office to play the flatterer, or to conceal any opinion I may entertain; but, should my communications produce a general impression that the Sardinian States show no signs of genuine and considerable progress, I should be leading you astray, and the fault would lie on me, *qui clarius loqui debuisset*. The details into which I am now about to enter will, I hope, lead to a more accurate estimate of their condition.

I have obtained from the most authentic sources some information of what has been done during the reign and under the actual superintendence of the present king; and I cannot deny that I have been

filled with joyful surprise. We will take the several departments of government separately.

1. Much as still remains to be done in the department of public instruction, it cannot be denied that schools, museums, collections, &c., have been increased in number.

2. In the department of finance, regulations have been made with respect to customs, coinage, stamps, system of accounts, and the public debt, of which more hereafter.

3. The department of war has the merit of having re-organised the army, and re-established the fortresses and the artillery. Attention has been paid to the navy, to the construction of new barracks and lighthouses ; the harbours have been improved, and new laws have been passed for the regulation of the conscription.

4. The department of justice has distinguished itself by a great diminution in the number of capital punishments, and by the abolition of confiscation of property as a punishment ; by a new organisation of the courts of law, and of the law of entailment. The new code has been substituted for an uncertain and unsuitable system of legal administration. Farther reforms are in progress.

5. The department of the Interior has passed laws for the regulation of communes, roads, weights and measures, sanitary police, vaccination, prisons,

forests, the game laws, &c. Roads and bridges in great number have been constructed, as also town-houses, slaughter-houses, public baths, theatres, hospitals, school-houses, poor-houses, and churches. Markets and public promenades have been improved and embellished, statues erected, canals made, and mines and quarries opened.

6. Under the direction of the ministry of the royal household, by order of the king, an armoury and a collection of coins have been formed, the gallery of pictures greatly increased, palaces embellished, order introduced into the public archives, and a society formed for the investigation of national history, that has manifested its activity by the valuable collection of the *monumenta patriæ*.

7. Lastly, for Sardinia a series of truly remarkable laws have been promulgated, by which the foundation is laid for an entirely new state of things, and for the regeneration of that long neglected island.

I will add a few brief remarks on various isolated points, reserving those of greater importance for a future communication.

1. The continental states of the Sardinian monarchy, in 1818, contained 3,439,000 inhabitants; at present about 4,000,000; and, but for certain calamities (particularly the cholera) the increase would have been much larger.



|                                                        |              |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| The proportion between males and females is as.....    | 1000 to 1001 |
| Unmarried and married .....                            | 10 „ 6       |
| Married and widows and widowers                        | 10 „ 3       |
| Proprietors of land and the population at large .....  | 1 „ 5        |
| Members of learned professions and the population..... | 1 „ 500      |
| Tradesmen and mechanics and the population .....       | 1 „ 400      |
| Labourers and the population at large.....             | 1 „ 10       |

The country contains 72 towns, and 2632 villages, hamlets, &c. In Sardinia there are 93 convents for men and 13 for women; in the continental dominions, 242 of the former and 80 of the latter. Among these the mendicant orders are the most prevalent.

2. The prejudice against vaccination has given way, and the small-pox has not been heard of for several years.

3. For the sanitary police superior and inferior authorities have been appointed. Veterinary surgeons are educated at Fossano, at an institution founded for the purpose.

4. The new laws for the regulation of prisons have met with general approbation. The accused are kept strictly apart from the condemned, the young

from the old, men from women. Where many work together, silence is rigidly enforced. The king has granted two millions of lire, from the surplus of 1836 and 1837, for the construction of new prisons, and prizes of 5000 and 1000 lire have been offered for the best plans.

A new law was promulgated on the 29th of May, 1817, on the subject of roads and navigable waters. It assumes that all rivers are the property of the crown. The roads are divided into royal, provincial, and private, and are all, more or less, subject to the control of the public authorities.

Chambers of Commerce and of Agriculture have been established at Turin, Genoa, Chamberi, and Nice. They are composed of landowners, bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. From time to time public exhibitions take place of the produce of national industry.

The institutions for the poor, for the relief of the sick, &c. are very numerous in the Sardinian States, their yearly income (exclusively of the island of Sardinia) being calculated at ten millions of lire. The administration of these institutions has been much improved by new laws, and it is to be hoped that mendicity, permitted since 1831, will gradually be subdued.

On the subject of foundling hospitals I must repeat my old complaints. The province of Turin,

with a population of 380,000, sees yearly 500 children deserted by their parents, and is at present charged with the maintenance of 3500 such children.

In the Genoese districts, the hospitals contained 1202 foundlings in 1813, and in 1835, the number had increased to 2555. In 1835, the number of deserted children found alive was 275, those found dead were in number 163. The mortality of these children within the year was 120. Every eleventh child, on an average, was a foundling.

In the whole monarchy, 3480 children were deserted in 1835, of whom 1957 died. For a population of 4 millions, there were no fewer than 18,365 children maintained in the foundling hospitals, at an expense of 425,000 lire to the state. As long as the bigoted notion prevails that these revolting institutions promote morality and prevent infanticide, no remedy is to be hoped for, and the premium offered to vice will continue to foster depravity. Are not the deserted children that are found dead, are not the others also who die in such prodigious numbers, murdered? Are they not murdered by mothers, fathers, and legislators?

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## LETTER XLIV.

Piedmont — Finances — Taxes — Customs — Government  
Monopolies—Taxes on Consumption—Debt of the State.

Genoa, May 19th.

THE financial system of the kingdom of Sardinia is one of the best regulated in Europe, and occasional defects are more than counterbalanced by accompanying advantages. A yearly budget is drawn up, with estimates of revenue and expenditure. There has been every year a surplus of the former, and no recourse has been had to anticipations, *bons du trésor*, *soumissions*, and other artificial resources. The department of finance is divided into three principal divisions: the first, for the direct taxes, office fees or *insinuazioni*, and the lotto; the second, for customs, consumption taxes, and the royal monopolies of salt, tobacco, gunpowder, and lead; the third, for the administration of the crown property and the public debt.

The following is the estimate for the current year in round numbers:—

## REVENUE.

|                                       |            |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Customs, taxes on consumption,     | lire.      |
| tobacco, salt, &c. ....               | 42,500,000 |
| 2. Finances (including royal domains, |            |
| direct taxes, &c.) .....              | 27,200,000 |

|                                                                            |                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 3. Foreign ( <i>estero</i> ) chiefly the post-office .....                 | lire.<br>2,300,000     |
| 4. Interior (including mines) .....                                        | 300,000                |
| 5. Coinage, &c. ....                                                       | 200,000                |
| 7. Administration of the treasury ( <i>erario</i> ) .....                  | 900,000                |
| Herein are included the<br>gunpowder monopoly                              | 240,000                |
| Chancery fees ( <i>diritti di segretaria</i> ) .....                       | 40,000                 |
| Interest on capital advanced .....                                         | 55,000                 |
| Sundry receipts, arising<br>from sales of old materials, and other sources | 130,000                |
| Interest on public securities .....                                        | 75,000                 |
| 7. From the naval department ( <i>marina</i> ).....                        | 200,000                |
| Total                                                                      | <hr/> 73,600,000 <hr/> |

## EXPENDITURE.

|                                       |            |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
|                                       | lire.      |
| Royal household and officers of state | 4,000,000  |
| Administration of justice .....       | 4,300,000  |
| Foreign affairs .....                 | 3,000,000  |
| Interior .....                        | 7,400,000  |
| War office .....                      | 26,100,000 |

## EXPENDITURE.

269

|                              | lire.     |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| Artillery .....              | 2,900,000 |
| Navy .....                   | 3,100,000 |
| Department of Finance .....  | 6,100,000 |
| Customs .....                | 8,500,000 |
| The Queen Dowager .....      | 262,000   |
| The Prince of Carignan ..... | 150,000   |
| Public Debt .....            | 8,662,000 |

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 Total 74,474,000

 The Revenue being estimated at 73,600,000
 

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There would appear to be a deficit of 874,000 but, as I have said, there has always been a surplus, the revenue having always produced from 4 to 8 millions more than had been estimated. In 1837, the surplus amounted to 2,300,000 lire.

The direct taxes are levied according to the laws of the 14th of December, 1818, and of the 1st of April, 1826. Under the French administration there were four of these taxes: land-tax, door and window-tax, trade licenses, and personal and furniture tax. The second and third were abolished by the present government, and the first reduced, in 1819, by 1-13th, and in 1838 by 1-10th. From the land-tax the only exemptions are in favour of the royal palaces, domains, and manufactories, the residences and gardens of the clergy, churches, and churchyards.

There is no general *cadastre*, or equal registration of lands. Many communes are entirely without one, and a few old documents and the recollections of living persons must supply the want. This of course leads to arbitrary acts, double imposition, omissions, and disorders of every kind. Some communes were surveyed and registered during the French domination, while the districts ceded by Austria continue to make use of the Milanese *cadastre*. In Savoy a registration was effected in 1780, but since then has undergone many alterations, particularly during the French time, when the land-tax was extended to the nobles and ecclesiastics. In the Genoese, there was no land-book till 1798, and it is on the lists then drawn up, with all their inaccuracies, that the land-tax is still levied. The want of a general registration is felt, but, as the expense is estimated at 10 millions of lire, and only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions are at present available to this purpose, the work continues to be delayed.

Archbishops, bishops, parochial clergy, clerical orders, and soldiers of the regular army, are exempt from the personal and furniture tax. People become liable to these taxes on completing the 20th year. The poor, under which head labourers and domestic servants are included, are not called on to pay. The personal tax is not to exceed 3 lire in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants

|                  |   |   |       |   |
|------------------|---|---|-------|---|
| $2\frac{1}{2}$ „ | „ | „ | 5,000 | „ |
|------------------|---|---|-------|---|

2 lire in towns of more than 2,000 inhabitants and  
 1½ „ „ less than 2,000 „

The furniture-tax is determined according to the rent. The personal and furniture tax, in 1839, produced 720,000 lire.

The customs are raised according to the tariffs of 1830 and 1835. The revenue derived from them has been progressively increasing, though the high duty on many articles encourages smuggling, so that a reduction would be likely to lead to the double advantage of remedying this evil and increasing the revenue. The following are a few of the articles with the duties charged by the two tariffs on importation:—

|                        | 1830  |            | 1835.           |       |
|------------------------|-------|------------|-----------------|-------|
|                        | lire  | lire.      | lire.           | cent. |
| Brandy, per hectolitre | 60 to | 150        | 120             | .     |
| Wine ...               | 24 to | 60         |                 |       |
| Cacao, per cwt.        |       | 50         |                 |       |
| Coffee                 |       | 60         | 70              |       |
| Pepper                 |       | 38         | 45              |       |
| Tea, per kilogramme    |       | 2½         |                 |       |
| Sugar, per cwt. ....   | 45 to | 80         | 18 to           | 48    |
| Butter                 |       | 1          |                 |       |
| Cheese                 |       | 16         |                 |       |
| Oysters                |       | 10         |                 |       |
| Horses, each           |       | cent. 7 20 | Exportation. 15 |       |
| Asses                  |       | 50         | 3               |       |



|                                                    | 1830. |       |       | 1835. |       |       | Export. |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
|                                                    | lire. | lire. | cent. | lire. | lire. | cent. |         |
| Oxen                                               |       | 10    |       | 5     | 2     |       |         |
| Calves                                             |       | 1     | 50    |       |       |       | 25      |
| Sheep                                              |       | 1     |       |       |       |       | 25      |
| Pigs                                               |       | 2     |       | 3     | 1     |       |         |
| Linen per kilogramme                               | 2 to  | 5     |       |       |       |       |         |
| Cotton goods                                       | 4 to  | 20    |       |       |       |       |         |
| Wool, per cwt.*                                    | 1 to  | 6     |       |       |       |       |         |
| Wheat per cwt. ....                                | 9     |       |       |       |       |       |         |
| Other kinds of corn                                | 6     |       |       |       |       |       |         |
| Books (bound, <i>legati bianchi</i> ,) per cwt.... | 50 to | 100   |       |       |       |       |         |
| Music .....                                        | 50 to | 85    |       |       |       |       |         |

Not only this extravagantly high duty on foreign books, but also the severe censorship, and the loss of time which it occasions, throw great impediments in the way of literary intercourse.

Many of the productions of Sardinia (oil, wine, corn, wool, hides, fish, &c.) were formerly liable to only one-fourth of the usual duty. This favour has since 1835 been extended to oranges and fruit, but the duty on these and other articles increased to one-half the customary charge, a measure that has given rise to bitter complaints among the Sardinians.

\* Since 1835 the exportation has been allowed on payment of 10 to 15 lire per cwt. Silk is allowed to be exported, subject to a duty of 3 lire.

When the important improvements are completed in Sardinia, an alteration of the customs laws will be unavoidable. Indeed, the whole system is gradually approaching to a greater simplification, the effect of which will be to permit a much more economical administration, and a considerable reduction in the little army of 3800 public officers now maintained.

The taxes on consumption are moderate ; they are partly levied by the state, and partly by the communes to cover local expenditure. The former (called *gabelle accensate*) extend to meat, wine, spirits, vinegar, beer, and leather, when sold retail. This arrangement, however, is confined to 22 districts, and does not extend to Savoy, Genoa, Nice, Aosta, Ossola, &c. About 1,200,000 of the population are liable to these taxes, and about 2,800,000 exempt. They bring in yearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions of lire, and are farmed out, as in the Milanese ; in the Sardinian states, however, no distinction is made between walled and open towns.

Turin is the only city that does not levy its own consumption tax, but receives a fixed sum in its stead. A law, of the 27th of December, 1838, prescribes the articles on which the cities may impose this tax. They are chiefly wine, liquors, meat, flour, wood, hay, straw, and a few building materials. In the larger cities these taxes are mostly

farmed and levied at the gates; in the smaller ones each retail dealer pays a fixed sum. It is only in cases of extreme urgency, and when all other means appear to be insufficient, that bread, flour, or meat, can be taxed.

The monopolies of salt and tobacco are exercised and enforced in the usual manner. The produce of both is on the increase; the former produces yearly 13,500,000, the latter 7,650,000 lire. Most of the salt comes from Sardinia and the south of France, and is sold, except in a few districts, at four sous a pound.

The public debt may be divided under three heads.

1. The debt of 100 millions of lire, fixed in 1819 at five per cent. Of these, 60 millions are redeemable, and the original sinking fund amounted to one per cent. The extinction is effected, half by re-purchase, and the other half by lot. The remaining 40 millions are considered an irredeemable (*perpetuo*) debt.

2. In the year 1831, at a time of imminent danger, a voluntary loan of 25 millions was raised in a short time at five per cent.

3. The same considerations, in 1834, procured a loan of 27 millions, at four per cent., together with some prizes. The whole amount remains in the public treasury, to meet extraordinary demands, more particularly for the defence of the country.

The public securities of Sardinia enjoy great confidence, but appear so rarely in the money market, that the attendant evils of stockjobbing speculations are scarcely known. The punctual payment of the interest, and the progressive reduction of the debt, are generally praised. It may be doubted, however, whether to buy up the public debt at 114 and 118 per cent. be good economy, and whether it would not be better to adopt a more direct manner of payment. Secondly, whether the interest might not be reduced to 4 per cent., offering the fundholders the choice of receiving back their capital. Thirdly, whether some more expedient means might not be found for providing against extraordinary dangers, than to keep so large a sum of money lying idle in the treasury that the expense of taking care of it, including the loss of interest, amounts to 1,620,000 lire.

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#### LETTER XLV.

Genoa—Agricultural Produce—Olives—Oranges—Lemons  
—Woods—Population—Exports.

Genoa, May 21st.

THE Genoese territory is described by Foderi and Bertolotti, as a land rising everywhere from the seaside into hills and mountains, with little

agriculture, more gardens and orchards, the olive the prevalent object of cultivation, southern fruits in the most favourable places, the chestnut on the higher grounds, with pasturage and herds among the maritime Alps. Everywhere great industry, but nowhere much opulence among the people, the proverb holding good—"He who possesses only olive trees will always remain poor." Even a trifling frost injures the delicate plant, and still greater destruction is occasioned by some insects. Seedlings bear no regular crop of fruit till they are 50 years old, but if propagated by cuttings the trees bear at the end of 25 years. The more strongly the ground is manured, the more abundant in general is the harvest. In good years 150 to 200 olive trees, on a superficies of 10,000 square yards, will produce from 30 to 50 bariles of oil, and sometimes one large olive tree will yield as much as 3 bariles.\* The trees blossom in May, and the harvest begins in December. The price of the barila varies from 30 to 80 francs.

Orange and lemon trees yield a full harvest only after 20 years. A hundred trees will give 30,000 fruit, at 16 francs the thousand. A single tree has sometimes been known to bear 4000. They grow best on a light soil, well watered, and well manured. The blossoms falling constitute in themselves a

\* The *barila* of oil is equal to 17 English gallons.

manure ; when sold, 25 pounds of them are worth about a franc.

The pastoral part of the population are more opulent than the olive-growers, though the pasturage and cattle are both inferior to those of Switzerland. As early as the year 1753, a very necessary law was promulgated, to prohibit the wanton destruction of the mountain forests, but in 1793 the greatest mischief was done by the total disregard of that law. The consequence was, the fertile soil disappeared, the storms became more violent, the mountain torrents more destructive, the roads were destroyed, and the climate was in many respects deteriorated. The system now enjoined of replanting the mountains will, it is to be hoped, be happily persevered in.

From Cevasco's excellent work on the statistics of Genoa, (not yet complete,) I have borrowed a part of the following facts, and have added to them others, which have reached me from a quarter to be relied on.

In eight years, from 1828 to 1835, the births in Genoa amounted to 24,741, of whom 12,513 were boys, and 12,228 girls.

The deaths were 17,758 ; of these, 8898 were males, and 8860 females. These numbers, however, do not include the deaths in the convents and

hospitals. In 1813, the period of Napoleon's commercial restrictions, the city contained 74,000 inhabitants ; in 1827, the number had already increased to 95,000. Since then, partly owing to the cholera, the population has not increased. Including soldiers, sailors, foreigners, and strangers from the country, however, the city is supposed to contain 113,000 souls.

The garrison of Genoa consists of about 6000 men, and the naval crews are about 3000 strong. The navy consists of three old ships of the line (*rasés* of 60 guns), 3 frigates, 2 sloops, 2 brigs, 1 cutter, and some smaller vessels. About 8000 foreigners visit the city in the course of the year. About 200,000 hectolitres (4,400,000 imperial gallons) of wine and vinegar are consumed in the year ; these, paying an excise of 2 lire 60 centimes per hectolitre, yield a revenue of 520,000 lire. The consumption of brandy and beer is comparatively trifling.

There are slaughtered yearly about 2300 oxen, 7500 cows, 7900 calves, 1000 pigs, 15,000 sheep, and 28,000 lambs. The corn consumed is chiefly wheat, of which the yearly average is 350,000 sacks. Next in importance are Indian corn and rice ; of the former about 60,000 sacks, and of the latter about 32,000 are annually consumed. The tax on consumption levied by the state in Genoa

has been estimated to produce 2,150,000 lire, and the city tax about 1,374,000.

From an excellent table, containing a classification of the inhabitants, I have borrowed the following. Genoa contains—

- 298 fathers of families living on their private income.
- 509 secular clergy.
- 555 monks.
- 456 nuns.
- 56 ecclesiastical seminaries.
- 41 registered clergymen.
- 1490 children attending the public elementary schools.
- 710 children attending the superior schools.
- 581 persons belonging to the university.
- 1878 pupils in private schools.
- 1284 public officers of every kind.
- 463 lawyers.
- 276 physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and midwives.
- 1019 merchants and manufacturers.
- 21525 mechanics of both sexes.
- 2145 porters.
- 6110 female domestics.
- 2019 male ditto.
- 242 tavernkeepers and the like.
- 2698 beggars and vagabonds.
- &c., &c., &c.



There are only three individuals in Genoa who pay more than 1000 lire land tax.

18 individuals pay from 500 to 1000

44 ... .. 250 „ 500

142 ... .. 100 “ 250

3863 ... .. under 100.

The following are some of the principal exports, and the amount exported.

White lead..... 454,000 lire.

Coral ..... 2,952,000

Iron bedsteads and similar

articles ..... 240,000

Confectionary ..... 200,000

Goldsmiths' work ..... 250,000

Paper and hangings ..... 1,500,000

Soap ..... 39,000

Silk and silk goods ..... 2,825,000

Macaroni and vermicelli ... 1,213,000

Oil ..... 1,154,000

Rice from Piedmont ..... 804,000

Artificial flowers ..... 39,000

Gloves ..... 59,000

Cream of tartar ..... 98,000

Chestnuts ..... 24,000, &c.

The total value of the exports is estimated at 17,000,000 lire.



## LETTER XLVI.

Genoa—Commerce—Shipping—Imports.

Genoa, May 22nd.

FROM what I have already said, it may be gathered that Genoa is not a manufacturing town, in the comprehensive sense of the word. To force a manufacturing interest into existence, many would fain return to the old system of prohibiting the exportation of all raw produce, and throwing increased impediments in the way of the introduction of foreign goods. But commerce, on which the welfare of Genoa depends, would suffer more by such a change than manufactures would gain. The government, on the contrary, has acted wisely by allowing the export of silk and wool, and is approaching nearer and nearer to a simplification of the high and intricate system of customs.

Seeing how Genoa is situated, between Trieste, Venice, Leghorn, Nice, and Marseilles, it follows that the range of its trade cannot be extended beyond a certain limit. On this subject I have heard two different complaints: in the first place, that Nice was too much favoured by ancient privileges, and by its great local facilities for smuggling; secondly, that the transit trade was still too heavily taxed. That the government is unwilling

to disturb ancient privileges secured to Nice by treaty seems to me deserving of praise, and the only question is, whether similar advantages might not be extended to Genoa. That the government is desirous of facilitating the transit trade appears to me to be evident, from the late conclusion of a commercial treaty with North America. The great commercial prospect, however, in my opinion, for Genoa, must be looked for in the improvements about to take place in Sardinia, which cannot but lead to an abolition or at least a new arrangement of the customs laws, by which the two countries are still kept asunder.

At all events, no trace of decay is to be seen at Genoa, as at Venice, and even if, in a commercial point of view, matters are stationary here, it is impossible to remain insensible to the great improvements that have taken place in the city itself, as well as in the surrounding country and the harbour. Although the annihilation of the ancient form of government, like every other death, be a cause for mourning, still it must be borne in mind that under existing circumstances an hereditary aristocracy was as little suited to this city as to Venice.

The activity and enterprise of the Genoese is not to be doubted. They trade to the most remote parts of the world. The following is a table of the

ships arriving at Genoa from different countries in the course of 1835.

|                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| From Alexandria, Sardinian vessels .....   | 2   |
| „ North America.....                       | 7   |
| „ Havanna, 11 Sardinian, 4 Spanish .....   | 15  |
| „ The Levant, 73 Sardinian, 1 Austrian,    | 74  |
| „ Brazil, 33 Sardin., 2 English, 1 French, | 36  |
| „ Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, 29         |     |
| Sardinian, 1 English .....                 | 30  |
| „ Bremen, 2 Bremen, 1 Hanoverian, 1        |     |
| Dutch .....                                | 4   |
| „ Columbia, Sardinian.....                 | 2   |
| „ St. Domingo, French .....                | 1   |
| „ France, 5 Neapolitan, 1 Dutch, 3 Spa-    |     |
| nish, 79 Sardinian, 54 French, 1           |     |
| Tuscan, 2 Austrian .....                   | 145 |
| „ the Canaries, Sardinian .....            | 1   |
| „ Denmark, Danish.....                     | 1   |
| „ Gibraltar, 11 Sardinian, 4 English.....  | 15  |
| „ the Adriatic, 22 Sardinian, 5 Austrian,  | 27  |
| „ Greece, Sardinian.....                   | 8   |
| „ England, 5 Sardinian, 81 English, 1      |     |
| Neapolitan, 1 American.....                | 88  |
| „ the Ionian Islands and Malta, 8 Sardi-   |     |
| nian, 2 English .....                      | 10  |
| „ Constantinople and the Black Sea, Sar-   |     |
| dinian .....                               | 76  |

|                                                                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| From Mexico, Sardinian .....                                                           | 2   |
| „ Holland, 8 Dutch, 1 Belgian, 4 Sardinian, 1 Russian .....                            | 14  |
| „ Portugal, 19 Sardinian, 1 English, 1 Dutch, 1 Prussian, 2 Neapolitan, 1 Tuscan ..... | 25  |
| „ Porto Rico and St. Thomas, Sardinian, .....                                          | 10  |
| „ San Romano, 6 Sardinian, 1 English, 1 French.....                                    | 8   |
| „ Naples and Sicily, 243 Sardinian, 30 Neapolitan, 1 Austrian .....                    | 274 |
| „ Sardinia, Sardinian .....                                                            | 109 |
| „ Sweden and Norway, 5 Swedish, 1 Russian, 1 Dutch .....                               | 7   |
| „ Sumatra, American .....                                                              | 1   |
| „ Spain, 48 Sardinian, 17 Spanish, 2 Tuscan, 2 Neapolitan .....                        | 69  |
| „ Newfoundland, 1 English, 1 French ...                                                | 2   |
| „ Tuscany, 32 Sardinian, 1 Spanish, 1 Tuscan, 1 Austrian, 1 Brazilian ...              | 36  |
| „ the Pacific, Sardinian .....                                                         | 4   |
| „ Para and Maragnon, 1 Sardinian, 1 Austrian, 1 Spanish .....                          | 3   |

|                     |        |           |           |           |
|---------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| The imports were in |        | 1834      | 1835      | 1836      |
| Coffee              | pounds | 7,344,000 | 3,938,000 | 8,220,000 |
| Cocoa               | bags   | 265,000   | 146,000   | 576,000   |
| Hides               | pieces | 200,000   | 167,000   | 171,000   |

|         |        | 1834      | 1835    | 1836      |
|---------|--------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Wax     | pounds | 123,000   | 165,000 | 329,000   |
| Pepper  | „      | 4,400,000 | 344,000 | 2,481,000 |
| Tea     | „      | 17,000    | 15,000  | 10,000    |
| Saffron | „      | 15,000    | 18,000  | 15,000    |
| Corn    | cwt.   | 438,000   | 572,000 | 1,006,000 |

Fish and colonial goods of every kind are also largely imported; the most important article is sugar, the annual importation of which is estimated at 200,000 quintals.

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## LETTER XLVII.

Genoa—Municipal Government—Income and Expenditure of the City.

Leghorn, May 24th.

THE city of Genoa is governed in virtue of the laws of December 1814, and July 1815. The Great Town Council is formed of 40 decurions, 20 of whom are nobles, and 20 citizens and merchants. They were in the first instance named by the king, but subsequent vacancies are filled up by the council itself. They must meet at least three times every year, on the 16th of April, August, and December, and on extraordinary occasions, on the suggestion of the Little Council, and with the sanction of the king's representative, an office usually given to the presiding judge in the supreme

court of Genoa. He has no vote in the council, but is ordered to watch vigilantly over the interests of the government and the inhabitants. The Great Council elects its own members and the magistrates of the city, subject to the approval of the king, nominates the Little Council, proposes the syndics, confirms the appointments of inferior officers by the Little Council, examines the estimates and expenditure for the year, and deliberates on all important matters relating to the city. At each meeting, at least three-fifths of the members must be present in official costume.

The Little Council, on which the attention to business really devolves, is composed of an equal number from each class (nobles and citizens) and one half of the members go out every year. This body administers the revenues of the city, superintends the police and the charitable institutions. It is composed of the syndics, the councillors of accounts, several other of the city authorities, and 10 ordinary members. No resolution can be adopted unless 21 members and the king's commissioner be present. The Little Council meets at least once a month, and more frequently if the affairs of the city require it.

There are two syndics, whose term of office lasts for three years. Each member of council proposes three candidates, whose names he writes secretly on

slips of paper, and the king selects two from the six names that have obtained the greatest number of votes, always appointing one noble and one citizen. Six councillors of accounts, whose term of office is two years, superintend the financial affairs of the city. Six superintendents (*provveditori*) fix the prices of provisions, wood, and coals; watch the conduct of the retailers; examine weights and measures, &c. Six ædiles have charge of the harbour, dikes, warehouses, waterworks, marine affairs, roads, &c. All these officers are appointed by the Great Council from among its own members, and are *ex officio* members of the Little Council.

Having given you the estimates of Trieste, Venice, Milan, and Turin, I will add that of Genoa for the year 1837, and shall take some future opportunity of comparing them with each other.

| INCOME.                                                                | lire.     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Rent of land .....                                                  | 23,653    |
| 2. Quit-rents ... ..                                                   | 7,083     |
| 3. Interest on public securities .....                                 | 4,623     |
| 4. Additional centimes to the land-tax                                 | 6,400     |
| 5. City taxes (almost all on articles of<br>general consumption) ..... | 1,155,063 |
| 6. Stall money for the Piazza de' Ponti                                | 21,000    |
| 7. Ditto for the fish-market .....                                     | 4,500     |
| 8. Measuring wood .....                                                | 6,560     |
| 9. Ditto, coals .....                                                  | 4,500     |



|                                         |           |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                         | lire.     |
| 10. Measuring corn ... ..               | 5,000     |
| 11. Ditto wine .....                    | 2,500     |
| 12. Rent of snow .....                  | 30,060    |
| 13. Farming of the <i>Pellere</i> ..... | 935       |
| 14. Sundry receipts .....               | 654       |
| 15. Warehouse-money at the harbour      | 8,002     |
| 16. Receipts from the theatre.....      | 25,525    |
| <hr/>                                   |           |
| Total, in round numbers                 | 1,306,000 |

## EXPENDITURE.

|                                                                             |         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. Administration of the city .....                                         | 48,955  |
| 2. Collecting city revenue .....                                            | 96,548  |
| 3. Other official expenditure ( <i>carichi</i><br><i>d' Azienda</i> ) ..... | 6,912   |
| 4. Keeping streets in repair .....                                          | 40,242  |
| 5. Ditto waterworks .....                                                   | 35,137  |
| 6. Cleansing and watching the city...                                       | 26,562  |
| 7. Lighting .....                                                           | 46,680  |
| 8. Preservation of public walks .....                                       | 6,056   |
| 9. Expenditure for the theatre .....                                        | 78,020  |
| 10. Military expenses .....                                                 | 17,971  |
| 11. Police .....                                                            | 26,299  |
| 12. Archives .....                                                          | 4,412   |
| 13. Judicial expenses.....                                                  | 7,425   |
| 14. Ditto (of a different class) .....                                      | 952     |
| 15. Interest on the city debt, and sink-<br>ing fund .....                  | 303,444 |

## TAXES.

289

|                                          |           |
|------------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                          | lire.     |
| 16. Religious expenses, processions, &c. | 9600      |
| 17. Charitable institutions .....        | 477,352   |
| 18. Public instruction .....             | 63,134    |
| 19. Casual expenses .....                | 102,92    |
| <hr/>                                    |           |
| Total in round numbers                   | 1,316,000 |

Among the taxes on consumption we find fish paying from five to fifty centimes per metric pound, according to the class in which each sort is included. There are four classes. The first comprises 21, the second 36, the third 32, and the fourth 30 different kinds of fish. Though it is true that many of these are not caught in the immediate neighbourhood of Genoa, the old proverb—*mare senza pesce*—is evidently a calumny.

The taxes on consumption constitute the chief branch of revenue for the town. Here for the first time, in our progress towards the south, we hear of a revenue derived from the sale of snow. The theatre is under the superintendence of the magistracy (decurions) who are directed to take care that the female dancers be dressed in a decorous manner, and it is this instruction which suggested the propriety of the elongation and amplification of pantaloons, that lately led to so much public excitement. The subsidy to the theatre is larger than that to the public schools, but the largest, notwith-

standing many rich endowments, is that to the charitable institutions. In this département there is much room for reform. Mendicity, I was told by one, had been suppressed, but had gained the upper hand again since the return of the Jesuits. What truth there may be in this I know not, but it is certain that many of the clergy believe that to suppress street-begging has the effect of weakening the spirit of christian charity—a most superficial idea, for, on the contrary, the importunities of the beggar tend to harden the heart, and indispose it to benevolence. “Foreigners,” said an Italian to me, “are mistaken when they look on Italy as a poor country, because there they are so persecuted by beggars. England and Belgium are full of paupers, but not Italy.” Were this true, the governments would be even more to blame than they are, for the prevalence of street-begging.

The public debt of Genoa appears to be large, but has been contracted chiefly in recent times, for the purpose of completing some extensive embellishments of the city in a short time. Some people are of opinion that Genoa ought always to take care to be a little in debt, the government being apt to appropriate to its own use any surplus that may happen to remain.

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## LETTER XLVIII.

University of Genoa.

Pisa, May 25th.

I HAVE already spoken of several universities of Italy, so shall confine myself to a few particulars respecting that of Genoa, borrowed from the Statistical Annals (Vol. xxxix. p. 179.)

To enter the university of Genoa, a student must produce seven certificates: 1, the certificate of baptism; 2, a certificate of vaccination; 3, a certificate that the candidate has been to confession once a month, and has been regular in his attendance at church; 4, that he has frequently received the communion, and has conducted himself well during the preceding year; 5, certificates to show that he has gone regularly through his courses of rhetoric and philosophy; and 7, the consular certificate, as it is called, signed by the local magistrates, containing name, rank, place of birth, family, number of brothers and sisters, ability of the parents to defray college expenses, &c. If all these certificates are found to be in proper order, the candidate is admitted to an examination, in the course of which he is questioned on logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy, mathematics, and Latin and Italian eloquence.

When admitted as a student he is liable to punishment, if he fail to observe the following rules:— 1, he must lodge and take his meals with such families as may be approved of by the prefect; always an ecclesiastic, whose duty it is to visit the students and examine their books; 2, he must go to no theatre, coffee-house, &c., but to mass, confession, &c.; 3, he must every two months obtain a certificate of diligence, good conduct, and regular attendance at lectures and church. It is scarcely necessary to add, that there is much in these regulations of which I cannot approve.

In 1822—1823, the students at Genoa were in number 350. In 1837, there were among them 6 students of theology, 159 of law, 101 of medicine, 35 of surgery, 36 of pharmacy, 24 of mathematics, 122 of philosophy and belles lettres.

The following is the list of lectures for 1838 and 1839:—

I. THEOLOGY. Professor Bolasco will discourse on the doctrine of confession, indulgences, and extreme unction. Professor Massa on sin and its chief divisions. Professor Oliva will teach Hebrew, and explain the Acts of the Apostles, and the subsequent writings of the New Testament. Magnasco will explain the principal dogmas.

II. JURISPRUDENCE. Bonta, the theory of the law courts, *judiciorum materiam*. Leveroni, the

law of wills. Parodi, maritime law. Daneri, a part of ecclesiastical law. Mongiardini, some portions of Roman law, compared with the civil law of Sardinia. Casanova, the elements of Roman private law.

III. MEDICINE. Garibaldi, a part of the *materia medica*, and judicial medicine. Botto, clinic. Mazzini, parts of anatomy and physiology. Tarella, nervous diseases. Molino, surgery and midwifery. Gherardi, surgical operations, &c. Pedemonte, the first part of pathology. Bo, the doctrine of diseases. Sassi, mineralogy and a part of the *materia medica*.

IV. Faculty of the SCIENCES and LITERATURE. Badano, statics and dynamics. Botto, differential and integral calculus. Garassino, algebra and trigonometry. Garibaldi, natural philosophy. Lanfranco, ethics. Spotorno, rhetoric and history of Roman literature. Grillo, hydraulics. Valentini, logic and metaphysics. Foppiani, architectural drawing. Rebuffo, style, with Italian examples. Lamberio, chemistry. Assalini, arithmetic and geometry.

Such is a complete list of the lectures delivered at an institution which in Italy passes under the name of a university! Would it not be better to combine the resources of Turin, Genoa, and the wretched auxiliary universities, by which means

one really good national university might be formed that would serve as a model to the rest of Italy?

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### LETTER XLIX.

Sardinia—Former Condition of the Island—Recent Changes and Improvements.

Florence, May 28th.

SINCE the year 1421, the island of Sardinia, after the manner of Catalonia, has had three states, in which many privileges are vested, particularly that of voting taxes. The same sum, however, was generally paid, without farther consultation or resolution, and from 1696 to 1793, the states were not once called together, and in 1799, a moment of urgent need, they were summoned only for the purpose of raising the customary tax of 60,000 scudi to 120,000. In point of fact, all real power was in the hands of the Spanish governors, as in all the remote possessions of Spain. Indeed, had the states possessed more influence, they would have done little for the redress of the evils that existed; for, as they comprised no principle of popular representation, and as, owing to the oligarchical character of their composition, they were not likely to sympathise with the people at large, the states

collectively would, no doubt, have exercised a power quite as tyrannical as that of the individual barons. The feudal system manifested none of its redeeming qualities, nowhere did it even show itself in its poetical point of view. The baron was on every occasion both judge and suitor, deciding without appeal in his own quarrel, while the distant sovereign either could not or would not afford relief. Thus the burdens on the population rose gradually to 60 or 70 per cent. of the produce, without including the oppressive tithe on the gross receipts. A Marchese di Moras raised the tax on corn one-sixteenth, because it was probable the mice would eat so much in his granary ! The father of one of the present Piedmontese ministers was once walking in Sardinia with a feudal baron. The latter, feeling weary, called a peasant, and, having ordered him to kneel down on all-fours, sat upon him to rest himself. The Piedmontese having observed how revolting such a state of things appeared to him, the Sardinian feudal lord replied : *No es nada ! Dexelos axer : es buono que assi se mantengan en el respecto que deven a los señores, estos picaros !* "That is nothing ! Let them be ; it is well to keep the rascals in mind of the respect due to their lords !"

Is it to be wondered at that the population contracted more and more of a savage character, and



had recourse on every occasion to private revenge, where justice was not to be had, where the very idea of it seemed extinct? The wretchedness of Sardinia arose neither from natural nor from transitory causes, but chiefly from the nature of its government, or rather from the absence of all real government. Many attempts at reform were made after the island passed under the Piedmontese, but their complete failure only proved the uselessness of superficial remedies, while the growing disaffection and danger made it evident that a bold hand must be applied to the radical extirpation of such accumulated abuses.

This great and arduous political and financial struggle has been organised, prepared, and triumphantly carried through, with a skill, prudence, and firmness, that have surprised me, at the same time that they have awakened in me the liveliest interest. The king, his Sardinian counsellors, and their leader, Count Villa Marina, are deserving of the most unqualified praise, and their memory will be revered, when the natural objections of the moment have been long forgotten.

The first measure connected with this subject came into force on the 19th of December, 1833. Its object was to establish a new board at Cagliari, for the purpose of drawing up a complete list of the feudal tenures, with their lords and vassals, and

of ascertaining the amount of all fixed and fluctuating revenues, adopting generally an average of 10 or 15 years. The statements handed in were to be strictly investigated, and to be referred to the communes, who were to report on their accuracy. By this measure, some insight was obtained into the real state of things, and an idea of the magnitude of the existing evils and abuses. It was ascertained that the feudal jurisdiction conferred upon the lord not merely the right of appointing a judge, whose office it was to pronounce according to a fixed code of laws, and whose decisions were in some measure subject to the control of a higher tribunal; nay, it was found that the lord decided entirely according to his own caprice, without reference to any general law, or rather his own temporary convenience was the supreme law, most of the questions submitted to his decision arising out of matters in which his personal interest was concerned. In point of fact, Sardinia was in a half savage state, and the only law recognised was the law of the stronger.

On the 1st of June, 1836, all feudal jurisdiction was abolished, and the courts of law were all placed under the direct control of the state. Those holding local offices were not dismissed, but a commission was appointed, to inquire in what cases compensation was called for, in consequence of losses sustained by individuals.

The carrying into execution of such ordinances could not but lead to many doubts and disputes; for the settlement of these, a tribunal was appointed on the 10th of June, 1837, from whose decision the only appeal lay to the king in person. On this occasion, the communes were again consulted, in order to ascertain what they were really bound to pay to their lords, and every imposition and augmentation of a wholly arbitrary nature was done away with.

On the 21st of May, 1838, an ordinance was issued, declaring that all feudal rights were to be abolished, all feudal services to be converted into a money payment, and the land to remain a free property, or to be applied to the uses of the crown.

On the 1st of July of the same year, commissioners were appointed to carry these orders into execution, their instructions being, in the first instance, to endeavour to bring about an amicable arrangement between the communes and their feudal lords. The king's deputy was directed to take care that the communes were not imposed on in the course of these negotiations.

A law dated the 15th of September, 1838, pronounces in a clear manner that the object of these new institutions is, "to establish a free and unlimited system of property, and to relieve the land from all burdens, bonds, and obligations, that may appear to be of an intolerable character. Those

whose interests may be affected by the change, will receive compensation in money or land, or by an inscription in the public debt."

The peasantry were cruelly oppressed by their entire dependence on their feudal lords, but, on the other hand, were neither prepared nor fitted for an immediate emancipation from their servitude. The king, therefore, substituted himself in the place of the barons; he took all feudal rents into his own hands; their value was calculated at the rate of twenty years' purchase, and public securities to that amount, bearing five per cent. interest, were made over to the barons, in exchange for the privileges of which they were deprived.

The most recent and important law connected with this question is that of the 26th of February, 1839, the object of which is to define the nature of property, and secure a more extensive cultivation of the land. The professed object is: 1, to leave every individual in possession of what he has hitherto enjoyed and cultivated; 2, to improve this cultivation, by a greater security of property and by the redemption of existing obligations; 3, by applying to the use of the crown, (to which in fact it always belonged,) all uncultivated or waste land, to which a title cannot be shown, to bring the whole island into a more general state of cultivation. The following are among the principal enactments of this law:—

## **800 NEW LAW RELATIVE TO PROPERTY.**

1. The land must be the property of individuals, of the commune, or of the crown. Lands subject to feudal services, or to the right of pasturage, constitute only an imperfect property.

2. Those lands to which neither an individual nor a commune can show either a perfect or an imperfect right of property, are to be considered the lands of the crown.

3. Land that has been cultivated or applied to use, whether enclosed or not, shall be considered private property, even though no sufficient title can be made out. Undisturbed possession is understood to confer a right of property, even in the absence of any other title. The same principle applies to the alternate right of pasturage, and to lands that have been cultivated only at intervals.

4. A suitable extent of land shall be reserved for the endowment of schools.

5. All lands to which neither a complete nor an incomplete right of property can be shown, will be disposed of on reasonable terms, according to the pleasure of the crown.

6. Every kind of vassalage may be redeemed. Communal property is not for the present to be divided. Every man has the right by the redemption of existing obligations to convert his land into a complete property, and then to inclose it.

7. The redemption of the rents recently trans-

ferred to the crown cannot for the present take place.

8. All land which the feudal barons have hitherto been in any way in the habit of cultivating, is in future to be considered a free allodium, without being liable to any further indemnity to the crown.

On this occasion, as is always the case where great changes are effected, many painful feelings have no doubt been excited, many customs and usages disturbed, many real or imaginary claims encroached on; but the evils to which a remedy has been applied were of frightful magnitude, and their removal loudly called for. The new system of legislation, as has been the case in other countries, will provoke individual complaints against its authors; impediments will be thrown in the way, and justice and religion will be invoked, to cast a shade over what has been done, and what has been attempted. Prejudice and injustice will be declared sacred, and the new fountain of life will be decried as a poisonous source. It is not the less true, however, that no really existing rights have been violated; changes have been introduced only where the previous state of things had become intolerable. The way has been prepared for a salutary reconstruction of the whole state of society throughout the island, and many improvements stand in immediate connexion therewith, such as those relating to roads, to the

manner of collecting the revenue, to the establishment of schools, &c. King Albert and his minister Villa Marina will be decried as revolutionists, (as Frederick William III., Stein, and Hardenberg were on account of similar measures,) and the olden time will be lauded, when the whole population of Sardinia was trodden under foot by a few insolent individuals, till, treated like beasts, men abandoned themselves to the fury of beasts, and returned evil for evil. If, however, the measures already adopted be firmly persevered in, the immediate successors of the few who now complain live to witness the great advantages to be derived from the regeneration of their country, and will join in that feeling of gratitude already expressed by the people at large, and confirmed by all unprejudiced men, to whom the merits of the case are known.

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## LETTER L.

North Italy—Condition of the Farming Population—Half-lings—Mezzadria—Cattle-sharing Contracts—Laws of Parma relative to these subjects.

Florence, June 1.

I OUGHT long ago to have fulfilled my promise to communicate to you something relative to the posi-

tion of the farmers and peasantry of Italy, but the task is accompanied by so many difficulties, that I would willingly withdraw my pledge, were it not that an important blank would thus be left in my statements.

The many contradictions and misunderstandings on this subject arise, in my opinion, chiefly from an assumption that the same word denotes the same state of things in different places; whereas laws, usages, the quality of the soil, the object of cultivation, the degree of labour required, &c., operate in a multitude of ways to modify and change tenures designated by the same word. For instance, the word *mezzeria*, *mezzadria*, or *mezzajuolo*, seems to mark, with great precision, the position of the occupier of the land, and to show, with mathematical accuracy, that one half of the produce is to be his. We shall see, however, that this assumption is rarely found to be correct. The laws already occasion a great diversity. The Austrian law, for instance, troubles itself little about the peculiarities of the system of agriculture existing in Lombardy, and decides on most points according to the specified terms of a contract; but the codes of Parma and Piedmont pay great attention to the several provincial relations, and contain many enactments, the effect of which varies in different localities.

The Sardinian code decides in the following



manner with respect to lands let on halves or held à *métairie*, that is, on payment of half the produce :—

If the contract or lease be concluded for several years, and if, during that time, a harvest fail (one half at least being destroyed) in consequence of an unforeseen calamity, the farmer may demand a reduction in his rent, unless he has been indemnified by previous harvests ; or the judge may authorize him to keep back a certain proportion of the rent, to be settled for at the termination of the lease, when the aggregate produce of all the harvests is calculated.

If the land be held only for a year, and the whole or half of the harvest be lost, a comparative reduction in the rent must be made. If the loss be less than one half of the crop, no reduction can be demanded. The farmer may, by the terms of his lease, take upon himself the responsibility of unforeseen calamities, but these include only natural occurrences, such as hail, frost, fire by lightning, &c., but not extraordinary visitation, as invasion of the enemy, &c., unless there be an express stipulation to that effect in the lease.

Where land is held without any written contract, the period of occupation is understood to last till the end of harvest-time ; that is to say, for vineyards and meadows, for one year, and for arable

land till the usual succession of crops have been taken off. The straw, hay, and manure of the current year must be left on the premises by the farmer. If, at the commencement of his lease, he found a corresponding supply, he can demand no compensation for what he leaves behind, otherwise he may demand payment for it, according to a valuation.

Whoever takes a piece of land on lease, on condition of sharing the produce with the owner, is called a sharer, a halving (*colon partiaire, mezzajuolo*). An accidental damage to the crop is the joint loss of the two parties to the contract, neither being entitled to any compensation. The *mezzajuolo* is not allowed to sell hay, straw, or manure, without the owner's permission. The death of the *mezzajuolo* dissolves the lease at the end of the current year; but his heirs may demand a continuation for another year, if the death occur within the four last months.

In the absence of any contract or established usage, the following regulations are enforced. The *mezzajuolo* provides the cattle necessary for the cultivation and manuring of the land, the winter fodder, and all agricultural implements. The amount of cattle kept must be in proportion to the extent and produce of the farm. The seed must be provided in equal proportions. The expenses

of cultivating the ground and gathering in the harvest must be borne by the mezzajuolo, as also the repair of inclosures, and the conveyance home of the owner's share of the produce. The mezzajuolo must not get in his harvest, thresh his corn, or gather in the vintage, without giving notice to his landlord. All natural or artificial produce of the land must be equally shared between them. The mezzajuolo is entitled to claim the necessary supply of wood for his vineyard and the use of his farm, as far as the plantations on the estate may be sufficient to meet his wants; but he must cut and prepare it himself, and account for the surplus.

The tenure of the mezzajuolo, in the absence of more precise stipulations, lasts for one year, beginning and ending on the 11th of November; but if neither party gives notice before the end of March another year is entered upon.

A simple cattle-sharing lease (*bail à cheptel simple*) is one by which a man undertakes to feed and look after a flock or herd, on condition of retaining one half of the increase. The increase is calculated partly according to the augmentation in number, partly according to the improvement of the animals in value. The milk, manure, and labour belong to the farmer. An agreement on the part of the latter to share in the loss as well as the

increase is null and void. A contract of this sort is generally assumed to be for three years.

Let us now see what the code of Parma enacts on the same subject. It is there stated that the *mezzadria* is a partnership between the farmer and his landlord, in which the latter contributes the land and the former his labour, on condition of sharing the produce. In the absence of any express stipulation, the landlord must provide the requisite cattle and their winter food, the farmer all the implements of agriculture. The seed is furnished by both in equal proportions, the farmer bearing the usual burdens and expenses of labour. He is obliged to give his assistance towards the effecting of permanent improvements, but may demand a compensation. The plants for new plantations must be furnished by the landlord, but the farmer is obliged to find the labour. The regulations respecting the repair of roads and inclosures, and those relative to the requisite notices to be given previously to the harvest or vintage, are nearly the same as in the Sardinian states. If the landlord furnishes the whole or half of the cattle, the farmer must not sell any part without permission. A landlord may stipulate for a higher rent than one half the produce, but must not impose such onerous conditions upon the farmer as would leave to the latter less than one-third. If

the landlord furnishes the cattle, the farmer has a right to not less than one-third of the profit arising from them; if the latter furnishes them, no lease is binding that leaves him less than two-thirds. The mezzajuolo must leave the straw and manure of the current year behind him.

In a cattle-sharing contract (*soccio o soccida*) it must not be stipulated that the farmer shall have to bear losses arising out of circumstances independent of his control; neither must he be required to take on himself a greater share in the loss than in the profit, nor must he be required, at the termination of his lease, to return a greater value than he received. All contracts to the contrary are null and void.

These variations between the laws of Sardinia and those of Parma may suffice to show the different point of view in which the same species of contract may be viewed in different parts of the country. One of these two codes assumes the farmer to have undertaken a multitude of onerous conditions; the other (justly apprehensive of exaggerated severity) declares certain stipulations altogether null and void. In this we may recognize the just conviction, that the legislator is bound not to allow the rights of private property to be carried to an unlimited extent; but that, on the contrary, it is sometimes his duty to guide it back

into the right path, and make it subservient to the interest and welfare of the community at large.

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## LETTER LI.

Various Opinions respecting the System of the Mezzadria.

Florence, June 2.

BURGER, in his instructive narrative of his travels, says, that the peasant or farmer in Italy pays in general no money to his landlord, but only a portion of the produce in kind. The draught-cattle and agricultural implements belong mostly to the farmer. Besides the payments in money and kind, a number of oppressive conditions are introduced into the lease, so much so that the majority of the tenants are worse off than the serfs in those parts of Germany where the system of serfage continues in force. The work of a common labourer is often better remunerated than that of the cultivators of the soil, who are forced to content themselves with mean dwellings and the coarsest raiment and food. An excessive population, and a system of legislation entirely favourable to the rich, are the main causes of these evils. Capital, courage, and opportunity are wanting to obtain better conditions elsewhere. Continual disputes with the landlord lead

to nothing, for an application to the tribunals is of no avail where the letter of the law, instead of affording redress, is directly hostile to the complainant.

Gioja, in his work on the statistics of the district of Oloro, (p. 50,) pronounces nearly the same opinion. The system of the *mezzadria*, he says, tends to make the farmer intent on overreaching his landlord. The *mezzajuolo* is apt to remain indolent, as he can only reap one half of the produce arising from any improvements he may make, and his tenure is always insecure, being scarcely ever on good terms with his landlord's steward. Without express permission, says the *Manuale dei Proprietarii*, the tenant must not underlet any part of the land he occupies. He has generally to sustain the whole of any damage that happens *after* the harvest has been got in. An abatement is not allowed unless more than half the produce be destroyed, and not then even, if it can be shown that this loss has been compensated by a series of more fortunate years.

Capitani, in his work on the agriculture of the Brianza, complains that leases are seldom committed to writing, and gives examples that certainly appear extremely severe upon the tenant. One half of the taxes and other burdens on the land falls to his share. The prices are always fixed at

the season of the year most profitable to the landlord. "I have a thousand times," says Capitani, in another place, "seen boys and girls, ten or twelve years old, performing the severest labours, and carrying loads far beyond their strength. This, no doubt, is the reason of the many stunted forms met with among the humble classes, and the progressive degeneracy of the race. The land is deserted by its owners; there is no interest shown in its improvement, no pattern for imitation, no kindly or Christian relations, &c. The properties of the smaller landholders are in a better condition. Those farmers who pay a money rent for land are seldom better off than the mezzajuolo. Early marriages, contracted merely to avoid the conscription, tend at the same time to increase the population, and aggravate the general wretchedness."

These opinions are balanced by others, (for instance, Chateauvieux and Martens,) who direct attention to the advantages of the system of *mezzadria*, such as the joint interest of the landlord and tenant, the self-adjusting proportion between rent and produce, the facility of making improvements by combining labour and capital, &c. In this way we have a progressive increase of praise, till we come to some Florentine writers, to whom the position of the mezzajuolo appears "the happiest that can be imagined, the mezzadria the most



admirable conception of human wisdom, and the whole system incomparably preferable to any other manner of turning landed property to account."

Now, ought I to decide between these conflicting opinions, adopting one view and rejecting the other? By no means! I am convinced, on the contrary, that these estimable writers were thinking of quite different things under one and the same name. This difference, which is marked enough even in Lombardy, becomes much more striking when Piedmont is compared with Tuscany. Even in Lombardy the land is not all held on the mezzadria tenure. There are large farms let for a money rent, smaller ones for a fixed rent in kind, others for one half, one-third, or two-thirds of the produce, to say nothing of landlords who cultivate their own land. The same man is often at the same time proprietor, and farms part of his land for money, and part for a rent paid in kind. The system that prevails among the mountains varies from that which reigns in the level country. Three-fourths of the land belong to the inhabitants of towns, or to religious and charitable institutions. Between the principal landlord and the cultivator there are often middle-men, who underlet the land, the proprietor thinking it better to have to do with only one substantial man, who gives him security, than with a number of small tenants. The latter, in the

end, have to bear the chief load ; but, I repeat it, much depends on local usages. In one part of the country the landlord furnishes the seed, in another, the tenant, and in a third, each contributes one-half. Extraordinary burdens (repairing roads, &c.) fall heavily in one province and lightly in another. In some places the farmer has time left to add to his income by other means ; in other parts the time and opportunity are both wanting. Here the soil may require much labour, there less ; one locality may be more exposed to natural visitations than another. What a difference, for instance, between the holder of land that yields three-fold or ten-fold ! The mechanical mathematical *half*, as I have already observed, is in general either too much or too little, and is never very accurately paid, there being often a multitude of accessory circumstances and stipulations which influence the relations between landlord and tenant.

In Lombardy, the situation of the mezzajuolo is least enviable. In Piedmont it is much better, owing to the advantage derived from the large common pasturages, and to the circumstance that the farmers are, for the most part, at the same time owners of small pieces of land. Of the state of things in Tuscany I will write to you on another occasion, even though at the hazard of repeating much of what I have already said.

## LETTER LII.

Laws of the Duchy of Parma.

Florence, June 3.

IN treating of the condition of the agricultural part of the population in the north of Italy, I have spoken of the laws of the duchy of Parma. The new codes are an imitation of those of France, but contain, at the same time, much that is peculiar to themselves.

Separation from bed and board follows upon adultery, malicious desertion, notorious profligacy, repeated ill-treatment, attempt at murder, or the protracted existence of an infectious disease.

A woman guilty of adultery is liable to imprisonment from three months to two years. Her accomplice is visited with the same penalty, besides having to pay a fine of from 100 to 1000 lire.

Hanging is the only capital punishment. Legal infamy attaches only to the person of the criminal. Conspiracies to change or destroy the form of government, or to excite citizens to take up arms, are punished with death.

All who have no fixed residence, and can show no regular means of obtaining a livelihood, are considered as vagabonds. A convicted vagabond is

punished with imprisonment from three to six months.

There being public institutions for the relief of the poor, beggars are punished with an imprisonment not exceeding six months, and afterwards sent to a workhouse. For a beggar in good health the minimum punishment is two months' imprisonment.

Associations for defined ends, if consisting of more than 20 members, require the authorization of government. All societies of which secrecy is one of the conditions are prohibited; the members are liable to imprisonment from six months to three years, and the funds of the society to confiscation.

Infanticide is punishable with death. If death ensue from a duel, the challenger is liable to imprisonment from ten to twenty years, the challenged from three to ten. Theft, in case of very aggravated circumstances, may be punished with death. All games of chance are prohibited, under penalty of imprisonment for not more than one year, and of a fine varying from 100 to 1000 lire.

Criminal trials take place in public, but without the intervention of a jury; the judges composing the court decide by an absolute majority of votes.

There are courts of arbitration; that of the

prætor, those of first and second instance, and the supreme court of revision.

The prætor may decide on many complaints respecting wages, damage done to corn, market quarrels, disputes between innkeepers and their guests, &c. If the matter in dispute do not exceed 100 lire in value, there is no appeal from his decision. The court of revision is not a mere court of cassation, but open to suitors for appeal, in case of the discovery of new documents, or in case those previously produced can be shown to be spurious, or if any new points can be brought forward, &c.

In case of bankruptcy, there is no classification of creditors, but each receives his share of the estate according to the proportion of his claim. A debtor who gives up his property or who is above seventy years of age is, in general, exempt from imprisonment.

### LETTER LIII.

Passage to Leghorn—Pisa.

Pisa, May 25, 1839.

ON the 22nd, about five o'clock, I went on board the steam-vessel Columbus, bound to Leghorn. The weather was fine when we put to sea, and I enjoyed the grand and rich prospects of the

Genoese territory astern of us. But by degrees the sky became overcast; the sun darted only an occasional ray through broken clouds, and the sirocco, which met us, blew not only stronger but colder as we proceeded.

At night, when I awoke, the doors were slamming, the lamp was rattling in its glass cover, the rain pouring in torrents upon the deck, and the whole vessel creaking, groaning, cracking, as though she would go to pieces every moment, or sink, like a vast coffin, in the sea. Ground enough for alarm or for thoughts of death: from weariness and indifference, however, these did not trouble me. At length, we reached Leghorn.

At dinner the table d'hôte was chiefly occupied by Frenchmen. After they had circumstantially developed both the theory and practice of a dissolute life, and adduced instances in evidence, they ascended higher, and talked of kings, saints, and popes, in precisely the same manner as they had talked of their prostitutes. Brilliant fireworks played off by minds viewing life only on its cheerful side, one may say; while a second is astonished at the superficiality of conception, and a third, filled with moral indignation at the corruptness of principle and sentiment, turns away in disgust. In me all these feelings rapidly succeeded one another, and I should have been mentally sea-sick had I

tarried any longer. I am already in central Italy, and yet every ragamuffin who cannot scrape together above three words of French addresses me in that language to do honour to me, but more especially to himself. The beginning of a deplorable slavery, which the French very naturally take pains to establish.

The ride from Leghorn to Pisa, through a level, well cultivated country, was agreeable. At the time when the range of hills that now raise their naked heads on one side were covered with wood, this country must have been doubly inviting to settlers. In the evening I strolled out by moonlight to the Cathedral, the Tower, the Baptisterium, and the Campo Santo. Profound silence and solitude; I heard not my own footfalls in the grass that has sprung up around. The former greatness of Venice is still perceptible in the centre of modern life and business; the Pisans, on the contrary, seem to have thrust out their monuments, that they might not have them always before their eyes to renew their mortification. Not Florence only, but Leghorn too, has raised itself above Pisa; but the latter only as a fortunate upstart. I was reminded of Fürth and Nürnberg, Altona and Hamburg.

I undertook to advocate the chivalrous view of the middle ages in opposition to the abstract constitutional, even with Mr. G——, in contradiction

to those who would fain transform a young queen into an automaton or a repeating watch. Such dry wood grows, such superannuated sceptre governs, no longer. Heads without hearts, and hearts without heads, never have a living constitution; they are fit subjects for anatomical collections alone.

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### LETTER LIV.

Pisa — Celebrated Buildings — Campo Santo — Journey to Florence.

Florence, May 27.

I DEVOTED several hours to the monuments of Pisa above-mentioned. The leaning tower has certainly sunk and was not purposely built out of the perpendicular; but, if it were upright, it would be inferior to the great towers of Germany. The cathedral is a very remarkable edifice, and still more so internally than externally. In the Baptisterium I admired anew the extraordinary genius of Nicola Pisano, who suddenly rose as a great master among so many bunglers. When I was about to enter the Campo Santo, I was followed by an old man, a peasant, with three daughters, who were by no means handsome, but looked very good-natured. My consequential guide admitted me only, and shut the door in the faces of those who were behind me.



On my asking the reason of this, he replied: "Such low people (*popolaccio*) ought to come on the public days."—"When are those days?"—"Five times a year."—"Are then these poor people to wait, or must they come on purpose?" (They were sixteen leagues from their home.)—"Yes, sir. —"Then I will wait too, and come again on one of the public days."—This had the desired effect, and the door was opened for the grateful party. My philanthropy, however, as I had no small change left, cost me of course somewhat more. A great deal has gone to ruin, but the Campo Santo still contains rich treasures, though Orgagna's fancies show little regard for the beautiful, and Benozzo's breadth and diversity claim the preference.

I would fain have made a longer stay in Pisa, but *fugit irreparabile tempus*. The diligence travelled at night: from close coaches one sees very little, and I wished to enjoy anew the prospects of the beautiful valley of the Arno. I therefore took an outside place, trusting to my waterproof oloak. But this did not suit the driver, and a gentleman, who was the only inside passenger, urgently requested me to bear him company, and converse with him. As I am not averse to society, and four large windows afforded every facility for viewing the country, I complied at length with his wish. In the course of the journey we were twice

transferred, with bag and baggage, to calèches, in which there was still less obstruction to the prospect. My English cloak, and more especially my fur shoes over my boots, were at first subjects for pleasantry to my fellow-traveller; in fact, however, the wind blew so unusually keen, that he was almost frozen; while I was not disturbed in the same manner in the contemplation of the rich scenery around. The weather, everybody says, is most extraordinary; it may be so, but—

I had soon a different kind of annoyance to encounter. My companion, a judge of first instance, and who had had a university education, mentioned, from old recollection, Horace, Cæsar, Cornelius Nepos, and others, and cheerfully answered the questions that I asked concerning the duties of his office. I behaved in the like manner towards him. By degrees, however, this bore, or *seccatore*, manifested an incredible propensity for questioning, so that never in my life have I been so closely examined as during those hours. At first I answered solidly and circumstantially, as one under examination ought to do, but by and by the answers became shorter and more uniform; for instance, “How often do the Protestants receive the Lord’s Supper?” —“As often as they please.” —“How often do they fast?” —“As often as they have no appetite.” —“What do they eat?” —“Any thing they have.”

—"What are they allowed to eat?"—"Whatever they relish."—"What do they relish?"—"Any thing that is well cooked."—These brief answers were gradually curtailed to Yes and No, and at length I ceased to reply. It was of no use: my companion kept questioning on, looking at me at the same time as though to read the answers in my looks. Let me give you a few genuine examples:

"Is not Prague the capital of Saxony?—What is the doctrine of the Lutherans?—Whose vassal is the king of Prussia?—How do you hold your lectures?—give me a few specimens—Does not the direct road from Berlin to Pisa run through Brussels?—How do you bring up your children?—Does not Sweden border on Prussia?—What salary have you, and what perquisites?—What language is spoken in Prussia?—How many original languages are there?—Is not leather the principal source of the revenue of Prussia?—Had Napoleon natural abilities?—What use could you make of me if I were to accompany you to Germany? (The silence interrupted) None whatever—What is *il sole* in German?—*Die Sonne* (the sun)—*La luna*?—*Der Mond* (the Moon)—Give me some longer specimens of German—*Heiliges Kreuz Donnerwetter, Schock Sch*——!!\* At this ejaculation,

\* An imprecation which cannot be translated. The Hibernian "Blood and thunder!" comes nearer to it, perhaps, than any expression that we recollect.—TRANSLATOR.

emphatically uttered in the expressive Teutonic language, the man drew back disconcerted, and held his tongue, like a scared canary-bird—but only for a short time. He turned from me to the *vetturini*, and from these again to me. At times I was forced to guess a good deal; or can you perhaps tell me what he meant when he very frequently talked about *haza and hoza*?

In spite of this annoyance, I was much pleased with the road, the country, St. Miniato, the valley of the Arno, and all the richly cultivated hills around Florence. These scenes made the same pleasing impression upon me as in 1816 and in 1817, and I arrived at a truly harmonious temper of mind. My satisfaction was increased by your letters, and a walk late in the evening to the Arno, Maria Novella, the cathedral, the old palace, the works of Michael Angelo, John of Bologna, and Benvenuto Cellini, awakened thoughts and feelings of various kinds, till bodily fatigue obliged me to return home.

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## LETTER LV.

TO L. TIECK.

Florence — Situation — Theatre — Niccolini — Processions —  
The Dowager Grand-Duchess — The Grand-Duke.

Florence, May 31.

THIS morning my first thought is of you, my dear friend, and I wish you from my heart health,

long life, and a serenity uninterrupted, save by those clouds which the poet needs and himself creates. In youth the birthday brings an order for the future; at our age it is a receipt for the past, or a settlement of account. I have certainly paid too much in paper, which falls in currency; you still owe a great deal. If you do not intend soon to redeem the Cevennes, why not give us your own memoirs and make yourself young again in them to our extreme gratification!

I am myself growing young, while calling up recollections and scenes of my tour in Italy in 1815-1817, and I feel upon the whole exactly as I did then; although the objects of activity and attention are somewhat changed.—I have now more need of the present, of living intercourse, and should be incapable of my former extensive paper studies. I am almost afraid of manuscripts, on account of my eyes, and know that the German dogma, that force and energy consist in the superabundance of minutiae, is a superstition. But I am far from the presumption of Th—, who would teach and bring every thing to bear by his own wisdom, without thoroughly learning any thing himself.

Wherever I am, I adhere to my plan of making acquaintance with as many and as different Italians as possible; and this method will certainly produce

more and better fruit than when a number of English and Germans confine their intercourse to their own countrymen alone, instead of seeking to gain a knowledge of really foreign countries and people.

Now a few particulars. Thus far the Italian heat is not to be complained of; for though in Genoa and here the sun at certain times seemed so hot that I have been glad to put up the umbrella in my walks, still upon an average the thermometer is not higher than  $14^{\circ}$  (about  $64^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit), and this morning at half-past six it was  $10^{\circ}$  ( $54^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit) in the shade. People predict approaching heat; but it seems to me that I shall be able to bear more of it without inconvenience than I could twenty-one or twenty-two years ago—perhaps of the *aleatico* too, which I have often thought of already, and especially to-day. As, however, I have been invited out every day till to-day, it did not depend on myself what sorts of wine to order; and, after doing my duty at dinner, I durst not undertake any work of supererogation. The beautiful days and the moonlight nights invited me to walks which gradually led me all round the city. In the Cascines, the same pleasing impressions as formerly. On one side, the still swiftly-flowing Arno; in the centre, tall beautiful trees with ivy climbing up them; then, on the right, richly clothed

meadows, then gardens, and lastly, the hills and mountains, with their villas, olive-trees, vines, and the manifold lines of their summits defined upon the sky. One must be a stock-fish not to be delighted with the cheerful and diversified scenery of Florence. It has not its name for nothing, and nature here has the character of the harmonious much more than the history of the people. I reserve what I have to say of the arts till another time : as yet I have again visited only the smaller part of their treasures.

On Monday, the 27th, was announced : “ At the Pergola theatre, Moses and Pharaoh.” Not a word more on the bill. I was not acquainted with the opera, found the pit not more than one-sixth full, and thirty or forty persons in the boxes. At the commencement of the overture, my eyes began to be opened : it was no other than Rossini’s well known Moses in Egypt—*oratorio sacro*, says the libretto, by the *principe della musica italiana del nostro secolo*. The empty house, however, showed that other *dii minorum gentium* had already succeeded to the sovereignty. Of sacred music scarcely any trace ; most of the melodies adapted to dances for human beings, dogs, and bears. Here and there an affectation of the sacred style, which soon changes to that of the profane opera. The Jews raised a prodigious outcry, at first about the oppres-

sion of the Hebrews, and next about the miracles of Moses, who looked exactly like a pair of nutcrackers. Singers, male and female, not worth notice, excepting, perhaps, Tadolini, one of the latter, who has a fine voice, and executed the Rossiniades in such a manner as to satisfy the admirers of those extravagances.

I had been told that Niccolini intends to write a history of the Hohenstaufen, in a Guelfish spirit, because mine is too Ghibelline. How gladly would I converse on this subject with those who understand the matter, and receive instruction!—but the Italians never think of learning German, and know my book at most from the title and by hearsay. Niccolini alone has taken up the affair more seriously, and had a translation made of those parts which interest him (particularly Manfred and Conradin)—which has cost him more than one hundred scudi. I begged him not to feast me with empty compliments, but to tell me frankly what appeared to him to be defective; but he persisted in his commendation, in a way that at least demonstrated a real interest in the matter. I further told him what many had suggested in regard to alterations, omissions, &c. against which, however, he advanced the same reasons that have always appeared weighty enough to decide me. At length he denied that the tendency of my work was too Ghibelline, and com-



mended its great impartiality. Perhaps he rather shares the notion of those who deem my style too cold and calm, and deficient in the higher inspiration, the *Subor*. But who can add a cubit to his stature? *Sesquipedalia verba* neither help a man forward, nor make him greater than he really is.

Yesterday was held the festival of Corpus Christi, with a procession that lasted an hour and a half—a review at once of ecclesiastical and temporal uniforms, a wearisome repetition, notwithstanding all its apparent diversity. I could not get, for the life of me, into a religious mood. Most persons felt just the same; but at last there was no attempt to produce such an impression. The liveliest part consisted of the innumerable boys, with their white night-caps and veils. They contrived to turn the pointed linen trunk to as many different uses as an elephant. Now and then there was kicking, cuffing, and thumping. The horrible singing or screaming, the ringing, the drumming, the trumpets, and small pipes, made such an infernal din that my head was quite distracted. It was still worse at the cross-streets, where three different kinds of music in three different modes were heard at once—the false chorusses of the clergy, the opera music of the infantry, and the trumpeting of the cavalry. Women here take no part in the procession, though they do in Turin; and the uncommonly numerous host of

clergy and monks reminded one of the standing armies of other countries. But the latter do, in case of emergency, much more for their earthly than the former for their heavenly country. The prevailing spirit of the Italians is now Ghibelline, because they conceive that the Guelfish divided and rendered Italy weak.

Yesterday, at noon, I was presented for the first time to the dowager grand-duchess, who is like her excellent brothers. The conversation turned—I can scarcely tell how—on sovereigns who have been distinguished by superior understanding and powers of mind; of course Elizabeth and Mary Stuart could not fail to be mentioned. The grand-duchess very justly maintained that the useful was not completely valid without the good, and that understanding alone cannot produce a perfect character. But all this trenches on everlasting questions that have never yet been fully solved; for instance, how far the really useful is always good, and the really good also useful?—How the understanding and disposition of the real sovereign form themselves; whether they must not form themselves otherwise in him than in the mere subject?—whether the measure of private right is sufficient to govern the actions of the king, or the measure of mere public right is sufficient for the subject?—How both can and ought to be reconciled, &c.

The grand-duchess conducted me to the grand-duke. He received me as graciously as the viceroy Rainer in Milan. Of the grand-duke's activity, his desire to learn, his attainments, and the extreme benevolence of his disposition, there is but one opinion ; and among the many sovereign posts that of grand-duke of Tuscany must be one of the best and happiest. Whether all about him possess minds lofty enough duly to second and to execute the noble intentions of the grand-duke, seems to be doubted. But it is fortunate that there is scarcely a sovereign in all Europe whose good and noble intentions can be denied ; and if any of them chooses to say, (like ——) *Stat pro ratione voluntas*, he finds so many burdocks by the way that he is forced to turn back *volens volens*. Heaven forbid that the great diseases in the east and west of Europe should seize the centre also, plunge the Roman nations into anarchy, the German into useless wars, and give time and opportunity to the Russians to penetrate further and further !

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### LETTER LVI.

REFLECTIONS ON ART AND WORKS OF ART, BY ONE  
OF THE UNINFORMED.

Trieste—Venice—Beauty—The Medicean Venus.

MANY people are happy in the belief that they know, if not every thing, at least a great deal. My

desire to reach the heights of humanity, whenever I have attempted to place or set myself down upon them by the force of a mere resolution, as Fichte expresses it, has, however, been uniformly disappointed. Such transcendental or transcendent resolution may have elevated others or added something to their height ; I found myself, after a short contemplation, always on the very same spot, only more weary and more chagrined than before. As then philosophical abstraction failed to carry me further, I aspired to poetic inspiration, but grasped only at clouds, and gained nothing real for the better cultivation of my mind. After these seven-league boots for the happy chosen few were transformed for me into mere stilts that threw me down, I took, though reluctantly, the way which is open to all persons of ordinary capacity—that is to say, I set about learning. People found, however, that my progress was very small, and they added as a sort of courtier-like comfort, that there were many things which could not be learned at home in our Germany. In order, therefore, to make myself acquainted with the genuine social relations, liberty, constitution, and so forth, and to view them face to face, I travelled to Paris, was present at all the popular and ministerial tumults ; saw kings set up and deposed, journalists turned into ministers, and poor men into rich ; amidst incessant accompani-

ments to-day of unbounded vivats, to-morrow of pereats—high life above and below stairs. By all these things no light was diffused in my head; I found no Pentecost of new illumination, but only a *Da Capo* of the Babylonish confusion of tongues, and I ventured, on my return, to assert, that in France there is nothing to be learned about the above-mentioned matters. Rude people hereupon said—

“A goose flew over the Rhine again,  
A goose came flying back again.”

The more polite remarked that I had mistaken my vocation—that I must go to Italy—that art was made for me, and I for art. I suffered myself to be the more easily persuaded, because I had by degrees conceived a real passion for learning, and had gained the conviction that none but the genuine scholar enjoys an everlasting youth. By means of this rejuvenescence, I regularly write my school-exercises of an uninformed person, such as I really am; and could prove by numberless witnesses who would swear to it, if any one should doubt that character *indelibilis*. I only claim that inalienable and now universally acknowledged right of man, to write down without apprehension or responsibility whatever comes into my head or to my pen. A

TRIESTE

“Do not think of going to Trieste,” said some one to me; it is an utter stranger to the arts. But if I

visit places where art is already dead, where it already occupies its *campo santo*, why not such where it is yet awaiting its birth? May it not be interesting and instructive to contemplate this youthful soil, this *terra vergine*, which, after long culture, may produce rich crops of art and science? Strive first, we are told, and with good reason, after the kingdom of God; after pictures and statues one cannot *first* strive; there is much previous labour to be performed, many foundations must be laid, before these flowers and fruits of mental cultivation can be obtained. I have just as little reason to blame the people of Trieste, because their city has not such treasures of art to boast as Venice, as to assume that in time to come their attention will be exclusively engrossed by the objects which are registered alphabetically in the custom-house tariff. It is to be hoped that to the possession of works of art, (for which individuals, for instance M. Sartori, have already made a promising beginning,) the production of them will speedily be added, and that on this point Trieste may deserve the reputation of greater activity. *Macte virtute esto.*

## VENICE.

A stop has been put to the rapid decline of Venice in a material point of view; a spiritual resurrection must proceed from within. It will not

take place while people show, with vain self-complacency, the works of great predecessors, and excuse, nay justify, their own nullity by the force of external relations and impediments. Are, then, those impediments greater at this day than they were at the time of Attila, or of the war of Chioggia? Is there any absolute necessity that the modern Venetian painters should be so far behind those of the 16th century? The Venetians must pass through the purgatory of a great sorrow and bitter self-knowledge; otherwise—to say nothing of political greatness—they will not again arrive at real art, but stop at exhibitions of perishable performances, executed to relieve the momentary necessities of indigent people.

In Venice, said some one to me, you will learn what flesh is.—Of all visible things that God has created upon earth and set before our eyes, the human body is the first, the highest, the most beautiful. I will not say any ill of beasts, plants, hills, clouds, &c.; I will not depreciate them—but man remains the monarch of the creation. On that point, you will reply, all agree. No such thing—they talk of beauty, and they are frequently afraid of it. They fancy that they can seize it, and paint and admire caricatures and abortions. The sense for beauty is far more rare than that for morality, and yet what is higher than the combination of the

beautiful and the good ! Why are many *bona fide* afraid of beauty ? Because it appears to them only as something seductive. Why do many praise beauty ? Because they view it through the glass of vulgar desire. The disinterested pleasure which Kant speaks of is to them incomprehensible, impossible.

The head of man is the fairest signature of his mind. The genuine contemplatist of art cannot confine himself to that, but must be capable of edifying himself with all the truly beautiful members, from the feet to the crown of the head. I say *edifying*—as in a revelation of God and his creative power. Thus it is that the great Venetian painters have considered and represented flesh—not in the ordinary sense of a *rehabilitation de la chair*, but as the medium by which the visible is connected with the invisible and spiritual. Whoever is not acquainted with this nature, this import of beauty, against him is closed the great portal to the holiest of holies.

The flesh, without the spirit, is dead, and decays in few hours ; but when it is said that “ the spirit, the word, the λογος, became flesh,” therein lies not only the highest revelation, but also the highest theory and practice of all art.

Why is living beauty often without any prominent mind ? Because it is not the work and possession of the individual, but a gift of God for all.



Why is mind often manifested in that which is destitute of beauty? To teach the beautiful humility, and to prove that the plain person possesses, through the qualities of mind, a far higher beauty than they who vainly carry it about in their own body. Why is that doctrine unsatisfactory which finds beauty merely in what is characteristic? Because it would convert the revelation of God into something that is purely personal.

#### THE MEDICEAN VENUS.

The Tribune of Florence is indeed a sanctuary of the most diverse productions of art. But for me, uninformed admirer of the unadorned human body, this perfect figure eclipses at the first glance all the rest, and I always return to it as to the most natural standard, the purest harmony, the noblest object, without other aim or accessory. Regardless of puritanical contradiction, I take the greatest delight in that foot—such as shoed ladies, who never dare take off their stockings, cannot show—in that ankle, in that elegant yet finely-rounded calf, in short in every individual part, as well as in the appearance of the whole. Is then this contemplation, is this delight, a sin? Is not Kotzebue not only a great fool, but also a real sinner, when he asserts that the ladies' maids of Berlin are more beautiful than the Medicean Venus? Setting aside th

striking absurdity of this assertion, it may, fairly interpreted, lead to the inquiry concerning the relation of the living to the work of art. The decided advantage of the former consists in this, that it lives; the decided advantage of the latter in this, that it never grows older or dies. It makes a vivid and profound impression, after the lapse of years, (under the weight of which one has one's self grown gray) to find these works of art in unchanged youth, and, as proofs of immortality, more weighty than many other proofs that are called philosophical. Nowhere is the creative power inspired by God, the power of creating in imitation of Him, so clearly and so wonderfully manifested as in the genuine work of art. And again, those works of art which represent the human body continue for all times the most interesting, the most living, the most intelligible. The Venus and the Apollo stand nearer to the present (in spite of the tailor-apparatus put on as a defence against cold and to hide deformity) than the tragedies of Sophocles and the legislation of Solon. Is this a superiority, or does it denote a bodily *ne plus ultra*, while the regeneration of the spiritual always conducts farther?

Considerations of this kind, it is true, lead from the immediate enjoyment of beauty, and to Kotzebueades of the following kind, Venus is a goddess. Why? The little Cupids by her side might be

given as attendants to any handsome female, and further symbols and distinctions are wanting. I recognize Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, by other things, nay by their heads alone. The head of Venus displays very beautiful, regular forms, but otherwise says little, and the expression is almost negative. Not a trace of love, enthusiasm, excitement, encouragement, repulsion. But, precisely because the head does not constitute the Venus, she showed herself quite naked to Paris, while the other goddesses thought that the sight of their heads alone ought to be quite sufficient for the competent judge. Venus is the goddess of general corporeal beauty, therefore the importance of the individual part must give way.

But if Venus is the goddess of general corporeal beauty, why does this Medicean Venus wish to hide any part of herself? Diana was in earnest when she metamorphosed Actæon, a lover of art or beauty; but what means Venus by this attitude? I discover neither dignity, nor anger, nor shame, in the common acceptation of the word. Is she looking between her fingers, and does she wish the spectator to do the same? As for the Neapolitan Venus (or whoever else the beautiful female may be,) I know what she is looking at, and what she wishes to show in preference, and the spectator follows the direction; but what is the object of the

Medicean with the turn of the head and this sort of *digito monstrarier*? Perhaps one might, without useless reflection, reply: The artist needed an attitude in which the arms should form finely-curved lines; of course he could neither fold them together, nor let them hang down, nor lay them upon the body (which was to be entirely visible,) nor throw one arm back. It evinces somewhat deeper thought to say: The intention was to display two natures, the divine and the human. The total absence of shame would, at best, but have shown the divine superiority, and, badly treated, would have degenerated into immodesty. A more decided expression of alarm would have shown merely the human element, and have rendered beauty entirely subordinate to a moral reflection.

In this manner one may reason or gossip a great deal about this Venus; but I will return to real innocence and look at that.

---

## LETTER LVII.

Right of Inheritance.

Florence, June 3rd.

I had been conversing with a lawyer about the right of inheritance of the married women of this

country, and asked Madame H— her opinion. She had more reason to find fault with the laws here, than the Prussian women with those of their country. In Tuscany, daughters are excluded by law from the inheritance; they receive only a certain share, and a dowry is usually assigned to them. Such as are unmarried must be kept at home by their brothers, and hence frequently arises no small discomfort. In case of a separation, the allowance never exceeds that fixed by custom. At the time of the French, sons and daughters had equal shares; but after their expulsion the old arrangements again received the force of law; and if the condition of females is at all improved, it is because the trusts and reversions of past times have mostly lost their efficacy. But precisely because this is the case, and feudal services, and the rights of the nobility, or of primogeniture, are now out of the question, because women have every where advanced to another position, that partial right of inheritance appears as a relic of other times, unsuited to the present, and which has maintained its ground through arbitrary predilection, not for any satisfactory reasons. If one would act consistently, one would set it aside entirely, as well as many other usages connected with it.

---

## LETTER LVIII.

Catholicism—English and French—Politics and Conversation.

Florence, June 4th.

EVERY day has in Italy its peculiarities of seeing, hearing, learning: for this reason I cannot comprehend how people can put any one unpleasant circumstance that may occur into the scale by itself. As a proof, here is an account of the way in which yesterday was spent.

Dined at the house of the Marchese —, with —. Three sensible persons must talk sensibly; and thus the conversation turned alternately upon Florence and foreign countries, the present and the past, and I heard much that I shall treasure up in my memory or commit to writing. The Protestants, said—, are frequently more reasonable in regard to the pope and the church than the Catholics, at least the Italians. We are near both, and acquainted with things as they really are. A few simpletons only imagine that the omnipotence of the ancient Catholic ecclesiastical authority can return—I remarked how disgust of political experimenting produces in many a disposition or hope to found liberty or obedience on ecclesiastical soil. We were unanimous in this, that the entire doctrines of Protestantism, and the entire doctrines of Catho-

licism, are adopted and followed but by very few ; that in fact feeling and conviction modify both, and give them a new form, both with the world in general, and with every thinking individual. We farther agreed that the due medium is the right, the positive ; but that out of mere negations neither is the due medium to be found, nor can in this way anything be founded or built up. On this subject the ministerial proceedings in Paris, (in which not a single grand, interesting, positive idea was brought forward), furnished instructive examples and proofs. —

Conversing in this manner, we drove to the house of Madame D—, a clever French lady, to whom those gentlemen wished to introduce me. With an agreeable person, she displayed at once the easy vivacity of the French women.

Without putting out of her arms the infant that she was nursing, she got at once, I scarcely know how, into the *centre de la politique*, and pronounced a warm panegyric on Mons. T—. There was, in particular, an article of his in the *Constitutionnel* against the king, marked by a *profondeur des pensées* and a *simplicité d'expression* not to be surpassed. My companions said nothing, and a few modest remarks on my part only served to fan the flame of political enthusiasm. I felt as if a bottle of champagne, excited to the utmost, was about to

burst ; nevertheless, I restrained myself, and said not another word, so that the torrent of Parisian eloquence rolled along without obstruction. Madame——then inquired after Hallam, and could not comprehend how it happened that he was neither a member of parliament nor desired that distinction, I observed that the English did not consider science without political consequence as contemptible, or that every scholar was called to assist in legislating. The conversation then turned upon the English women. Madame—— said that they were insipid, without expression ; at best *beautés jardinières*, large hands, large feet, fat, clumsy, *à l'allemande*, no breeding or social polish. If I had done violence to myself thus far and held my tongue, I now gave full scope to my eloquence ; and my speech, like my previous silence, was, in direct opposition to the French lady. So also was the assertion that the talent for conversation and the display of *esprit* is by no means the one thing needful either for man, or women. Madame——, however, displayed this very talent in not taking amiss any thing that was said. She promised when we next met to attack the French women, and I to defend them.

A walk along the Arno concluded the day or the evening. Venus shone so brightly as to form a luminous stripe upon the water ; and, after a sound



night's rest, I wrote down the history of that day, before commencing the labours of this.

At the police-office I was asked: "How old are you?" When I had answered, "Fifty-eight years," I became seriously alarmed, and thought; "You ought to be at home, and to lay yourself up on the shelf."

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## LETTER LIX.

Florence, June 6th.

### REFLECTIONS ON ART, BY ONE OF THE UNIN- FORMED.

#### FIRST CONTINUATION.

#### VENUS DE MEDICI, ONCE MORE, AND FOR EVER!

WHEN the very beautiful Mademoiselle von Glafei, afterwards Madame von Saldern, chanced once in company to ascend a bank or a hillock and a number of admirers collected around her, one of them proposed that she should make a speech to them from that eminence. A question arose respecting the choice of the subject, on which another said: "Take yourself for your theme, and make a speech on beauty." I have several times proposed the same thing to the goddess; but she is silent, and so I cannot help, though not gifted with eloquence, to allow once more full scope to my tongue.

Whoever knows the Medicean Venus from plaster casts alone does not half know her, so undefined, tame, clumsy, does every thing appear in comparison with the original. It is as though one were to judge of Titian and Correggio from engravings.

But why is every naked female called a Venus? Perhaps to denote the difference, the opposition? *καὶ ἀντιφασιν*. Even the Berlin ladies' maids, if subjected to this Kotzebueish fire-ordeal, or rather air-bath, would not meet with any elevation of their condition, but humiliation and scorn. As unclothing in most persons only exposes imperfection and deformity, legislators themselves have presented it as a disgrace and punishment; and morality has less to do with human clothing, than aversion to what is not beautiful, which denotes the commencement of a better taste, till certain ultras discover perversity and degeneracy in the aspect, nay, in the very existence, of the beautiful, and strive to destroy it.

The ideas of the true, the beautiful, the good, are of such infinite extent and such extreme interest that we need not wonder if admirers of the one or the other place that one exclusively on the throne, and forget that the rightful authority belongs to the whole trinity. Such extravagant votaries of the true place the ugly on an equality with the beautiful, because in one respect, (and in one

only), a certain truth cannot be denied, to the former. Similar admirers of the good find in the exaltation of the beautiful an injustice towards the good, and an unrighteous elevation of the visible above the invisible. On this soil of one-sided errors spring up, all at once, naturalists, puritans, iconoclasts, modern French poets—if not something worse—perverted unitarians.

I have once more minutely examined the crouching Venus in the gallery here. She is surprised, and wishes in earnest to hide herself; but the more the modesty of the maiden is here displayed, the more the goddess who may and is meant to reveal beauty is kept out of sight.

Why is there no god of beauty? Because in him, (or at least in the man,) beauty is never all-sufficient, never is, and exhausts the whole, but something more, something indicative of qualities and character, an aim, a direction, an activity, ought to be apparent. Apollo is no more the god of beauty, than Diana is the goddess of it: their inmost nature grows on a totally different soil. Adonis and Antinous have never raised themselves from their effeminate existence to the godlike, the former was never of equal condition with Venus.

I have endeavoured in former reflections to furnish satisfactory proof that Juno does not strip, and why; and the day before yesterday I found in the

workshop of Bartolini, a sculptor of this city, a reclining Juno, who is lifting a veil in order to show herself perfectly naked. A beautiful woman; nevertheless, the impression left upon me was, that she was doing this almost out of spite, or as much as to say: *Anch'io sono bella!* But it is not *de son m tier*, not her province, as it is that of Venus. Then, too, she must dress herself again, or get herself dressed, which Venus has no occasion to do. Perhaps it is for this reason that she is married to Vulcan, who, as the Princess Borghese said, always has *la chambre bien chauff e*.

#### THE SENSE OF SMELL.

For the senses of the eye and the ear, grand theories have been constructed; taste and feeling have, from their smaller domain, attempted conquests on all sides, and planted colonies; the sense of smell alone has been universally neglected, and not deemed worthy of notice or cultivation. People have at most inquired and ascertained whether and in what manner smells are wholesome or injurious to the body. This scarcely leads to physiology, certainly not so far as psychology and aesthetics: nay, considered from that point of view, it would appear that God had to be sure created the nose, (for blowing and snuff-taking); but that smell was a matter of no consequence, and perhaps the person who has no smell is better off than the one who has.

To these reflections I am led by Florence. In this repository of art, this elegant, clean, beautifully paved city, flow from every wall numberless streams, which may compare with Acheron and Phlegeton, with Cocytus and Styx, and all the rivers of hell, which throw a damp upon higher thoughts and feelings, and drive to despair every one whose olfactory nerves are not utterly destroyed. Incessant attention is moreover requisite to avoid stepping into these impure waters, and bringing home with one more than is homœopathically necessary to infect the air. It is boasted of as a great improvement that not a swine is now allowed to be killed by the few butchers in the city ; but this universal swinishness is tolerated ; people are accustomed, are become indifferent, to it. God mend it !

Adam Müller once planned an æsthetic of smell, but got no further than his former doctrine of opposition. A smell and an anti-smell, (perhaps the Florentine,)—this abstract scheme is not sufficient to settle the business. So long as many people are fond of the taste and smell of high game, strong sea-fish, rotten cheese, tar, horseradish, garlic, &c., delicate females on the contrary detest the scent of roses—the first elements for constructing an æsthetic of smell are wanting. Caprice and Babylonish anarchy must reign in this world, till some great legislator for the nose shall arise, in whom mankind

shall believe, or to whom a patent shall be granted for his new classification and valuation. Perhaps Florence is called to this, either from desperation, or according to the adage, *per aspera ad astra*. Has not the great Neptune in the Duke's Place been taught to behave himself with extraordinary modesty and decorum ; and why not the many little Florentines, who have no prescriptive right to this method of watering the streets ?

## MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON FLORENCE.

The Florence of the middle ages, and the Florence since the sixteenth century, are essentially different, notwithstanding all the threads that run through both. More fortunate than many an Italian republic, it has found its way from an Æschylean youth, to a Xenophontish harmony of riper years. This harmonious measure, this activity without morbid exaggeration, this grace without superficialness, this content without indifference, I find (right or wrong,) in Florence, in Tuscany ; and it seems to me, (unless irresistible storms should rage there,) to afford the pledge of a long and happy life.

In some of the yet remaining tower-like houses is manifested the character of the earlier history of Florence, and not less in the city walls. Florence would gain very much in beauty if these were taken

down, and views opened on all sides. The passion prevailing here for enclosing each property with lofty walls, so annoying to the spectator, is likewise rooted in the earlier ages, which afforded less security or felt less admiration for nature—or, as others think, did not worship her so idolatrously. This latter opinion I disclaim, and place myself on the side of those, who, at Ratisbon, Leipzig, Breslau, Dresden, &c., have manifested a taste and a relish for the beauties of nature.

The contrast between the former violent frenzy and the moderation of the present time appears most glaring in the works of art in the Grand-duke's Place. Hercules slaying Cacus, by Bandinelli; the Rape of the Sabines, by John of Bologna; Perseus with the dissevered head and body of Medusa, by Benvenuto Cellini; Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes, by Donatello; Michael Angelo's David (who might just as well be called Goliath,) harbouring similar intentions—of course, nothing but blood and murder; so that Neptune, instead of fiercely leading the way as a heathen god with his *quos ego*, stands timidly by, and with good-natured countenance watches all the scandal. The witticism launched at Blucher's statue, "I have not room up here by myself," would apply still better to Perseus and Judith, with the two twisted carcasses. Perseus is, in comparison

with the superior statues of antiquity, but a coarse fellow, as Cellini himself was; and all these throat-cuttings, headless trunks, streams of blood in bronze, &c., appear to me unsuccessful attempts, in spite of all the art employed in their execution. Even the beautiful hemmed-in Sabine woman, making such vehement exertions up in the air, I would rather see upon the solid ground in a more favourable position for the display of that beauty.

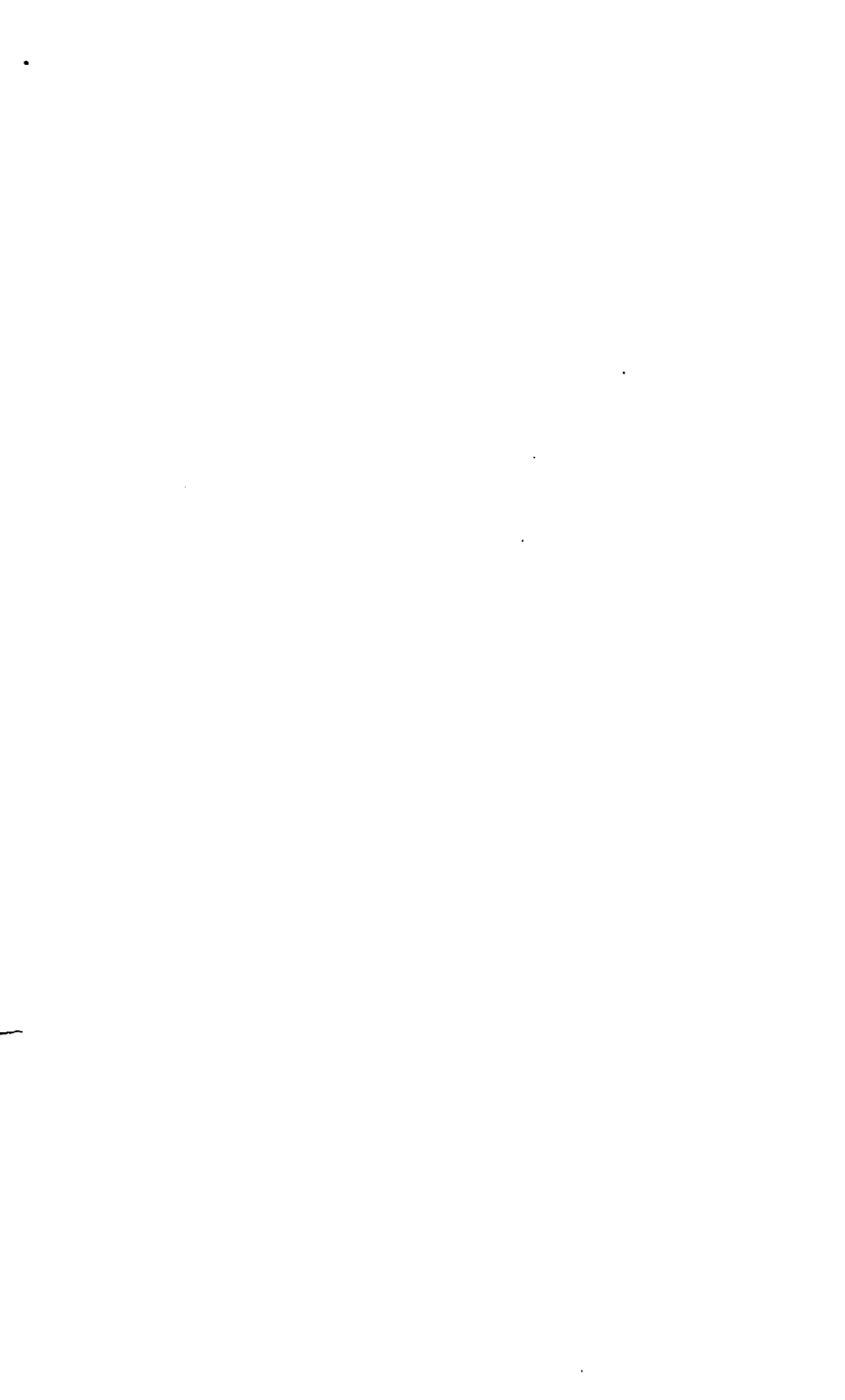
It is well that my paper is at an end, or this portion of the heresies of one of the uninformed would extend to too great a length. Perhaps you will decline this treat for the future.

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ITALY  
AND  
THE ITALIANS.

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# CONTENTS

OF

## THE SECOND VOLUME.

---

### LETTER LX.

|                                             |   |
|---------------------------------------------|---|
| Florence—Environs—Italian Theatre—Libraries | 1 |
|---------------------------------------------|---|

### LETTER LXI.

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Florence—Pictures . . . . . | 6 |
|-----------------------------|---|

### LETTER LXII.

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Florence—The Pitti Palace . . . . . | 7 |
|-------------------------------------|---|

### LETTER LXIII.

|                                                                                           |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Reflections on Art, by One of the Uninformed. Second Continuation—Niobe—Alfieri . . . . . | 8 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|

### LETTER LXIV.

|                                                      |    |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Florence—Bartolini—Cucumero Theatre—Becchi . . . . . | 12 |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|

### LETTER LXV.

|                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------|----|
| Florence—Amici—Physical Cabinet—Fiesole . . . . . | 14 |
|---------------------------------------------------|----|

### LETTER LXVI.

|                                                              |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Tuscany—Leopold's Legislation—Agriculture—Haldings . . . . . | 16 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|----|

### LETTER LXVII.

|                                                            |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Tuscany—Cadastre—Land Tax—Municipal Institutions . . . . . | 26 |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXVIII.

Leghorn—Population—Commerce—Taxes—Customs . 33

## LETTER LXIX.

Tuscany — Population — Army — Clergy and Monks—Universities . . . . . 38

## LETTER LXX.

Tuscany—Administration of Justice—Jews—Revenues and Expenditure of the State—Public Debt . . . . . 43

## LETTER LXXI.

Florence—Income and Expenditure of the City—Municipal Regulations . . . . . 47

## LETTER LXXII.

Journey to Rome—Heat—Best Season for visiting Italy 50

## LETTER LXXIII.

Rome—Argentina Theatre . . . . . 54

## LETTER LXXIV.

Rome — Hunting — Remarks on the History of the Hohenstaufen—Peyron . . . . . 55

## LETTER LXXV.

Rome — Nocturnal Concert — Feast of St. John — The Lateran . . . . . 60

## LETTER LXXVI.

Rome—Politics—Hanover—Etruscan Museum . 62

## LETTER LXXVII.

Reflections on Art by One of the Uninformed. Third Continuation — Danger of Beauty — The Vatican — Torchlight . . . . . 64

## LETTER LXXVIII.

Rome—Illumination of St. Peter's—Fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo . . . . . 68

# CONTENTS.

v

## LETTER LXXIX.

|                                                                           |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| States of the Church—Government and People—Schools—Universities . . . . . | 71 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXXX.

|                                                            |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| States of the Church—Cultivation—Population—Poor . . . . . | 79 |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXXXI.

|                                                                         |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| States of the Church — Administration — Municipal Regulations . . . . . | 81 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXXXII.

|                                         |    |
|-----------------------------------------|----|
| States of the Church—Finances . . . . . | 86 |
|-----------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXXXIII.

|                                                                                 |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Journey to Naples — Campagna di Roma — Ruins — Pick-pockets in Naples . . . . . | 90 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXXXIV.

|                                                                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Naples — Beautiful Situation — The Exhibition — Music — Ride to Virgil's Grotto—Alfieri . . . . . | 96 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## LETTER LXXXV.

|                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| Naples—Political Ideas—Music . . . . . | 107 |
|----------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER LXXXVI.

|                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Naples — Libraries — Literary Men — Excursion to Sorrento . . . . . | 108 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER LXXXVII.

|                                                                                                                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Naples — Nature and Society, here and hereafter — Calabria and the Calabrese — Admission to the Archives of the Vatican refused . . . . . | 114 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER LXXXVIII.

|                                                          |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Naples—Summer—Prostitution—Excursion to Ischia . . . . . | 122 |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER LXXXIX.

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Naples—The Studj—Pompeji . . . . . | 127 |
|------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XC.

|                                                                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Passage to Palermo—Flora—Santa Maria di Gesu—Duke of<br>Serradifalco—Monreale . . . . . | 130 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCI.

|                                                                                                                                                          |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Palermo—Temperature—Portrait of Frederick Barbarossa—<br>Library—Antiquities—University—Ball—Cathedral—<br>Lunatic Hospital—Mendicants' Asylum . . . . . | 134 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCII.

|                                                                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Palermo—Monte Pellegrino—St. Rosalia—The Observatory<br>and Botanical Garden—Evening Party . . . . . | 142 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCIII.

|                                                                                                                                  |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Passage to Messina—Aspect of the City—Poverty of the<br>Nobles of Palermo—Travelling Companions—Environs<br>of Messina . . . . . | 145 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCIV.

|                                                                                |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Journey from Messina to Catanea—Attempted Ascent of<br>Etna—Syracuse . . . . . | 151 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCV.

|                                                                                                |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Malta—Palace of the Grand Master—Spirit of the English<br>Government—Heat—Musquitoes . . . . . | 163 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCVI.

|                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| Return from Malta to Messina . . . . . | 168 |
|----------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCVII.

|                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Messina—Farewell Concert—Return to Naples . . . . . | 170 |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCVIII.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Modern History of Naples—Charles III.—Ferdinand IV.<br>and Marie Caroline—Conquest by the French—Partheno-<br>pean Republic—Restoration of the King—His second<br>expulsion by the French . . . . . | 173 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER XCIX.

|                                                                                                              |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| State of Naples during the reign of Joseph Bonaparte—Mu-<br>rat—His Quarrel with Napoleon—His Fall . . . . . | 185 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CONTENTS.

vii

### LETTER C.

State of Naples on Ferdinand's Return — The Carbonari —  
Revolution of 1820 — Interference of Austria . 193

### LETTER CI.

Naples — Constitution — Parliament — Clergy — Convents —  
Concordat — Nobility — Agriculture . 203

### LETTER CII.

Naples — Administration — Municipal Institutions . 218

### LETTER CIII.

Naples — Penal and Civil Laws — Statistics of Crime . 225

### LETTER CIV.

Naples — Population — Military Establishment — Navy . 230

### LETTER CV.

Naples — Schools — Universities — Law relative to Theatres —  
— Borboni Society — Duty on Imported Books — Inadequacy  
of Italian Universities . 236

### LETTER CVI.

Naples — Agriculture — Corn trade — Forests . 248

### LETTER CVII.

Naples — The Domains — The Tavoliere in Apulia — Roads  
— Commerce — Prince of Cassaro . 256

### LETTER CVIII.

Naples — Finances — Taxes; on Land; on Trades; on Con-  
sumption — Revenues and Debts of the State — Revenue  
and Expenditure of the city of Naples . 266

### LETTER CIX.

Naples — Relief of the Poor — Mendicity — Foundling Hos-  
pitals . 277

### LETTER CX.

Sicily — Constitution — Administration . 285



## LETTER CXI.

|                                                                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Sicily—Population—Exemption from forced Levies of Soldiers<br>—Gendarmerie—Police . . . . . | 299 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXII.

|                                                           |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Sicily—Decline of its Prosperity—Trade—Commerce . . . . . | 304 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXIII.

|                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Sicily — Sulphur Trade and Sulphur Monopoly . . . . . | 310 |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXIV.

|                                                                                                             |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Sicily—Corn Trade—Land-Tax—Revenues and Expenditure<br>of Palermo and Messina—Foundling Hospitals . . . . . | 317 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXV.

|                                                                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Roman Archives — Relations between Church and State—<br>Religious Squabbles . . . . . | 322 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXVI.

|                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------|-----|
| Journey from Naples to Florence . . . . . | 327 |
|-------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXVII.

|                                                                                                                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Journey from Florence to Verona—Austrian Government—<br>Prohibition of Begging — School Examination — Passport<br>Annoyance . . . . . | 329 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXVIII.

|                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Journey from Verona to Munich—Insruck . . . . . | 334 |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXIX.

|                                                                                                                    |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Munich—Library—School of Painting—Religious Feuds—<br>Threatened Dissolution of the German Confederation . . . . . | 335 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXX.

|                                                           |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| General Survey of Italy—The Arts—Sciences—Music . . . . . | 337 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## LETTER CXXI.

|                                                                                                                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Italy — Family Life — Cicisbeism — Foundling Hospitals—<br>Army — Spirit of Modern Catholicism — Classes — Con-<br>stitution . . . . . | 344 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

**CONTENTS.**

**ix**

**LETTER CXXII.**

**Italy—Survey of the individual States—Sicily—Naples 353**

**LETTER CXXIII.**

**States of the Church—Tuscany—Piedmont . . . 359**

**LETTER CXXIV.**

**Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom—Unity of Italy—Revolutions  
—Advances—Hopes and Wishes . . . 365**



## LETTERS FROM ITALY.

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### LETTER LX.

Florence—Environs—Italian Theatre—Libraries.

Florence, June 7th.

LET every-day matter (what is worse?) succeed the reveries of the uninformed. If possible, I take a daily walk in the beautiful environs. Thus, one afternoon, I visited the Cascines. The woods and meadows were most exquisitely illumined by the sun-bright evening; about midnight a shower of rain fell on the cultivated hills; and towards morning Florence, with its domes and towers, was sharply defined upon a ground of black clouds. The whole scene was as diversified as beautiful. Another time to Poggio imperiale, a residence of the grand-duke's, ascending through dark cypresses to cheer-

ful heights and orange gardens. A third time to Bello guardo, where, beyond a verdant slope, covered with vines and olive-trees, all Florence lies spread out before the eye ; the plain towards Pistoja opens on the left ; and, on the opposite side, Fiesole, with its ancient churches and buildings, crowns the chain of hills. A fourth time to St. Miniato, distinguished by the like beautiful views.

It is, of course, become warmer than it was, but as yet the heat is not oppressive, and it is not advisable to change the warmer for lighter clothing, as the mornings and evenings do not show a higher temperature than 11 to 13 degrees (56° to 60° Fahrenheit).

Through Count Waldburg-Truchsess, I received a French letter from Turin, in which Count Cosilla informs me, that his Majesty the King has presented me with a copy of the *Storia Metallica* of his kingdom. In my answer to the Count, (likewise in French,) I have returned thanks for this unexpected favour, touched upon some literary points, and said, among other things, "J'ai parcouru differens pays de l'Europe, mais la reception que j'ai trouvé à Turin, le nombre de personnes d'esprit, de talens, et de science, qui ont bien voulu m'instruire, l'énergie du caractère qui m'a paru plus grande que dans quelques autres pays de l'Italie, les progrès de la monarchie sarde, princi-

palement de la Sardaigne elle-même, un Roi qui tache de réaliser un juste-milieu *positif*—tout cela a rendu mon séjour à Turin extrêmement utile et agréable, et s'est imprimé dans mon cœur et ma mémoire pour toute la vie."

Do not criticise my French, but take notice that all I here say is perfectly true, only that at this passage some little doubt arose whether Charles Albert may not listen too readily to clerical and particularly Jesuistical counsels. On this point I refer to my former reports.

Of the theatre there is still but little to say. The wretched operas and comedies have no attraction for me; and such talent as Erminia Gherardi's I have not since met with. But I should certainly go more frequently to the play, if it commenced earlier than half-past eight. As it is, I cannot sacrifice either my night's rest or my hours for work in the morning.

Among the laws here for the theatres, I shall quote but one, to this effect:—All that is publicly promised (new decorations, rich dresses, a numerous company, military band) must be performed, as the public cannot be allowed to be cheated and deceived.

The sketches of my oft-mentioned and esteemed friend, Czörnig, contain very interesting information concerning the Italian theatre. I extract from

them what follows :—The Italian theatre is considered not merely as a treat of art, but rather almost as a social amusement, cheaper, more convenient, more diversified, more intellectual, than French *soirées* and English routs. It must, moreover, be taken into account, that one neither can nor desires to see finished works of art only from year's end to year's end ; but people put up with such as are of inferior merit, and chat till something worthy of notice bursts forth from the mass of mediocrity. Hence, further, the frequent change of companies, the brief engagements of the artists, the necessity for the manager of beginning everything anew in every town and for every year. The opera-texts are almost, without exception, wretched, and cut out after one pattern, in order to comply with the obstinate demands of individual singers. Notwithstanding the fondness for the opera, most managers and their companies are ruined, unless they are supported by the government. Thus the Scala receives annually 240,000 francs ; which allowance, however, is loudly complained of by the other cities of Lombardy. In the year 1832, there were, in Upper and Central Italy, (without Naples and Sicily,) 71 theatres ; 18 for opera and ballet, 33 for the opera, 1 for the opera and plays, 1 for plays and the ballet, 17 for plays, 1 for plays and rope-dancing. In Florence only, there appeared a

preponderance in favour of the drama. For the year 1838, 20 new operas were composed, and of these scarcely one outlived the second summer. Donizetti wrote 60 operas: Glück, Mozart, and Spontini knew (as Voltaire says), “que ce n’est pas avec un si grand paquetage qu’on va à l’éternité.”—I feel strongly disposed to fall foul, in my *uninformed* way, of this musical and dramatic system; and, therefore, break off here, till I have got and paid for a fresh stamped sheet for exercising that prerogative upon.

Though the inspection of libraries is in general a wearisome affair, it is nevertheless one of the duties of a travelling man of letters to pay his respects to the craft. For my part, this always puts me into an idle discontented mood, as though, because it is, alas! impossible to read all books, it were not worth while to write any.

From the prevalence of pig-skin binding in some of the libraries of Florence, we may perceive that they do not keep pace with the spirit of the times. Very different is the case with the grand-ducal library in the Pitti palace. Though not founded before the year 1815, an astonishing number of the finest editions of ancient and modern classics, as well as works on natural history and the arts, have been procured for it, chiefly through the predilection of the Archduke Ferdinand. Nor is there any want



of manuscripts, (for instance, by Lorenzo di Medici, Tasso, Galilei,) which are still partly unexplored and unpublished : work enough for a man, who (like ——) wishes to throw new light on the history of Florence.

Perhaps it would be advisable, for the sake of general utility, and on account of the urgent necessity for increasing the libraries of Florence, to unite them into one great collection, and to sell the duplicates. It would certainly be serviceable to make an arrangement every year concerning the expenditure of the yet very inadequate funds, and to allot a particular department to each library. As a very rare exception indeed, books are lent to literary men, but never to students ; and this regulation is of so much the worse effect, since the lectures at the university and the hours for reading at the library mostly happen to be the same.

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## LETTER LXI.

Florence—Pictures.

Florence, June 8th.

BECAUSE I cannot make up my mind to repeat what has been said a thousand times concerning individual statues and paintings, and because I can as little suppress all my thoughts and feelings on

those subjects, I set aside the greater part of them, and take leave to give free scope to my uninformed heresies in regard to some few. I had nearly done so yesterday, when a couple of Englishmen had a great deal to say about the Medicean Venus, and some others were extolling to the skies the pictures of Carlo Dolce. Not one copyist, but two, and even three, are seated before each of these pictures, probably executing English commissions. In spite of Tieck's Zerbino, what useless journeys are still undertaken to the land of good taste !

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## LETTER LXII.

Florence—The Pitti Palace.

Florence, June 10th.

WOULD that, by the dry detail of daily life, I could set before your eyes the splendour and the colours of these scenes of nature and art, as I go from the Boboli garden to the Pitti palace, always visit afresh the Cascines for the sake of their cheerful impression, and yesterday enjoyed, perhaps, the very finest view over the surrounding country, at the castle of Belvedere above Boboli. Eminences and chains of hills of the most diversified kind, the Arno and its bridges most beautifully illumined, the

whole city outstretched at one's feet, and the gay white houses contrasting in a peculiar manner with the dark and bright green of the sea. And yet admirers of Rome will soon pretend to prove that the desert Campagna is more beautiful than Florence and Naples! Amidst such a nature and art, the living Florentines can scarcely keep themselves *à la hauteur* and at par.

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### LETTER LXIII.

Florence, June 11th.

REFLEXIONS ON ART, BY ONE OF THE UNINFORMED.

SECOND CONTINUATION.

NIOBE.

THE greatest tragedy that was ever represented by art. A simple idea, a simple feeling, a sublime accord; but broken and modulated through all the shades and gradations of alarm, fear, grief, resignation, mortal agony, and death. A sublime, wonderful, profound conception, which, precisely for that reason, is most deeply moving and affecting; whereas, Laocoon produces scarcely any other effect than shocking me, and leading away to considerations on the art displayed in this work of art,

which always are, and must be, of a subordinate kind.

If Niobe was proud of her seven noble sons and her seven beautiful daughters, it was a natural, maternal pride, a pride at any rate of a more dignified kind than the mistress-pride of her sister Latona. Apollo is not complete god, but only a demi-god, because he too was filled with his mother's envy, and his power was not elevated and glorified by clemency, love, bounty. The Jewish Jehovah also shews himself as a jealous God, but he saved Isaac; while Apollo is here no more than the slayer, the destroyer, the Hellenic Sheeva. Hence Niobe has had justice done her, through all ages, in the inmost feelings as in outward representation.—She is the conqueress of death, risen with her children, and surrounded by sympathising friends. — Through this deed alone Apollo lost his dominion; Niobe and her children overthrew paganism in their fall, and were precursors of other times and of another revelation.

#### ALFIERI.

What one wants one is glad to acquire, and still more to get as a gift, without, as the proverb says, examining the mouth of the given horse too closely. The article tragedy was supplied in the literary history of Italy by certain substitutes only: Alfieri appeared and offered genuine goods, surpassing the

manufacture of Hellas and Co. Is it surprising that all seized it with joy, and not only cut out the stuff to the measure of their bodies, but crept into the coat when made, or threw it over their shoulders and advanced in buskin-step against other dramatic tailors and clothiers. Our Alfieri, cry the Italians, as though afraid to say in the plural, as some other nations do, Our Alfieris. But then is Alfieri a native Italian plant, indigenous to the soil and climate? I am well aware that he was born in Italy and wrote Italian; but to me he appears to be an entirely foreign production, an exotic plant, which is tended and nursed, and is by no means thoroughly Italian, like Dante and Macchiaveli. When I made these, or similar observations to the Marchese M—, he replied that Alfieri was popular, that his tragedies drew crowded houses, and even the country people were moved to tears by them. Abbate B—, on the contrary, denied the popularity and the numerous attendance, and moreover dried the tears of the country-people. It is not my province *tantas componere lites*. The second assertion, however, appeared to me more favourable for the Italians than the first; for it would tend to prove that rhetorical hothouse tragedies are but little relished by unsophisticated tastes, and that the admiration of them is confined to the circle of æsthetising literati.

When I stated as a fact, without entering into the worth or worthlessness of the opinion, that the other great poets of Italy were known and esteemed in Germany, that Goldoni was frequently represented, and even Gozzi found acceptance, but Alfieri no where excited admiration or even interest — this fact of course served for a proof of the continuance of northern barbarism, and ——— insisted that in six hundred years the world will discover that Alfieri is as great a poet as Dante. What I thought on this subject I said at another time to B——, and he agreed with me that Alfieri was no poet, but only a rhetorician, who would fain have screwed himself up to a poet. At length, —— and his wife admitted that Alfieri certainly was deficient in *movimento* (which I, in further discussing the subject, called the *dramatic*); but asserted that the sublimity of the language and sentiments, and the profundity of his works, much more than compensated for that deficiency.

As the admirers of Alfieri find the sublime (and as an accessory and supplement, the dramatic) in his dry harsh rhetoric, so the admirers of the feeble Marini conceived a hundred and fifty years ago that through him beauty of very high degree was born again and revealed. The first superstition will pass away as the second has done.

There are distinguished writers whom it is ex-

tremely difficult for foreigners to understand, and out of courtesy one might class Alfieri among them. But how is it that among us the much more difficult Dante is understood?—and have not the Germans every where shown industry and versatility in penetrating into what is most heterogeneous, even the Indian and Chinese? If our cultivation in this point might be called too universal and extended, the reverse is seen among the Italians. Whenever a German youth, after his school years are over, turns away from Greek, there is still a feeling for measure and beauty left behind, and the knowledge of modern languages is added as a make-weight. Most young Italians learn neither German nor English; either there are no translations, or they afford totally inadequate conceptions of the poetical works of foreigners. Italy has already sustained great injury from thus shutting herself up in false self-conceit; and this seclusion will daily operate more and more prejudicially, unless more serious and persevering attention be paid to the hitherto slighted European productions of mind.

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#### LETTER LXIV.

Florence—Bartolini—Cucumero Theatre—Becchi.

Florence, June 12th.

NOTWITHSTANDING that *happy* longing after home (for a traveller without home is a sort of wan-

dering Jew) my assertion concerning the richness and the diversity of Italy is more and more confirmed, as you must have collected from my letters; though they are chiefly occupied with a single side, and leave so much else wholly untouched. If Florence is less remarkable for that side than north Italy, nature and art afford double enjoyment, and cause me to forget that I have not yet been shown the estimates of the city. It would be still worse if the Medicean Venus had been as mysterious as the privy-councillors.

Not a day passes but I see something of art or nature. On the 9th, in the forenoon, I went, for example, with Becchi to Boboli, which garden successfully strives to unite nature and art. Thence a second time to Bartolini, the sculptor, to feast my eyes upon a series of exquisite works: Juno, the monuments of Demidof and Alberti, Hector and Andromache, and other beautiful female figures. A large Napoleon is waiting unfinished for a purchaser.

On the evening of the 10th, I saw Scribe's *Marriage de raison* performed tolerably well by a French company at the Cucumero theatre. The audience shewed its taste in understanding and applauding French. Yesterday I had my choice between the theatre and a *soirée* at the house of



——. To do injustice to neither company, and to avoid giving a preference to either treat, I renounced both, and after a hot day, walked in the fine evening along the Arno.

Not a day passes but I converse with some Italian or other, and learn something from him, as I have done with Capponi, Fossombroni, Nicolini, Ricci, and others. With great kindness and sacrifice of his time, M. Becchi, librarian of the Riccardiana, and secretary of the Accademia della Crusca, pays me particular attention. He introduced me to the president Puccini, accompanied me to Bolognardo and Belvedere, and is going with me this evening to Fiesole.

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### LETTER LXV.

Florence—Amici—Physical Cabinet—Fiesole.

Florence, June 13th.

YESTERDAY Cavaliere Medici took me to Antinori, the director of the physical cabinet, which possesses not exactly what is the most modern and most perfect of every kind ; but it is important for the history of science and the manufacture of instruments. Thus the instruments employed by Galilei, Torricelli, Fontana, Volta, remain valuable

and authentic relics. Beasts, birds, fishes, minerals—of all these a beginning, a groundwork. Flowers of wax, admirably executed, but perishable. The anatomical cabinet, likewise of wax, an object of the admiration of all connoisseurs.

Professor Amici showed us the extraordinary power of his microscope, and of a telescope made by him. He denied the circulation of the sap in plants, which our S— pretends to have demonstrated, particularly in the chelidonium. The movement does not take place, he says, through internal force, but is the effect of warmth operating from without. In like manner, he declared himself against the attempt of certain German botanists, who transform all vegetable males into females, or (by an inverse emancipation) assign to the former the functions of the latter. The minute explanation of this subject, addressed by him to a young marchese, (translated into animal language,) would furnish a complete catechism of midwifery. Zelter's saying, "You know not what I can go through," involuntarily occurred to me on this occasion.

In the evening I rode with the Abbate Becchi (that inexpressibly attentive friend) to Fiesole. A series of the most delightful prospects, where not interrupted by the confounded walls, with all the plains, hills, and mountains that have been so frequently mentioned. The terrestrial sea, tinted with

every shade of green, intersected by the silver stripe of the Arno. About Florence and its gigantic dome (that central point of the landscape,) numberless white, glistening houses, casinos and villas, every where sprinkled. A most serene, cloudless sky, painted at sunset with all colours; and over hill and dale was shed at the same time that magic mist which at once poetically envelops and beautifies every thing in a veil varying from dark blue to celestial rosy red. By the road side, cheerily ascending and descending, with friendly greetings, the damsels of Fiesole, to whom I dare not refuse the testimony of beauty, as I can to many Italian females.

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### LETTER LXVI.

Tuscany—Leopold's Legislation—Agriculture—Halfings.

Florence, June 8th.

THE house of Austria is in general represented as having an inordinate inclination to keep things just as they are, nay to stand stock-still, or even to go backward instead of forward. And yet the very reverse of all this might be proved. The great changes which the world hailed with such loud applause when they made their appearance among our western neighbours had been set on foot much earlier in all the main points by Austrian sovereigns,

with the rejection only of the absolutely violent and extravagant. To say nothing of Joseph II. (whom many censure for that which they admire in others,) I have already shown how much that was great and praiseworthy Maria Theresa did for Lombardy ; and in the very same spirit her son Peter Leopold acted in regard to Tuscany from 1765 to 1790.

More than twenty years before the commencement of the French revolution, he abolished the ancient regulations relative to treasures and mines, limited the right of hunting, suppressed the guilds, as well as most of the exemptions from taxes and feudal abuses, permitted the free cultivation of tobacco, and put an end to the forced grinding of corn and olives. Useless orders from the authorities (for example, when the vintage was to begin, how the land should be cropped, and so forth,) ceased. There was no further question about fixing the prices of grain and bread, and a free trade in corn in the interior, and (without any protecting duty) with foreign countries, took the place (that is to say when there was no dearth) of complicated and ever-varying regulations ; and experience has verified the policy of this system up to the present day. In like manner discontent at the excessive restraints imposed upon the use of the woods caused them to be thrown open to all. This, however, though

attended with much benefit, led to abuses, and the hills were stripped, because the cupidity of man, though it cannot take away future corn crops beforehand, can destroy woods and forests for centuries to come. A milder criminal code took the place of rigorous laws, a new municipal regulation that of unsatisfactory provisions. Attention was paid to schools, universities, and archives, and long before Necker's time a public account of the income and expenditure of the state was rendered. The Church was obliged to confine herself to her own sphere, acquisitions in mortmain were restricted, and a series of important laws relative to landed property enacted. They aimed principally at diminishing the insecurity of possession for a term, or at least procuring for the possessor for a term a share in the improvements of the soil. In the first place, all the lands of the crown and of corporations were to be converted, as far as possible, into property of the tenants, and the quit-rent to assume a fixed character ; but all without infringing the rights and income of the original proprietors, as the same thing has been attempted and accomplished in the Prussian dominions. The redemption of fixed taxes was allowed without being compulsorily prescribed.

In short, Tuscany had—without pretending to deny partial mistakes and imperfections—completed

her revolution in a mild peaceable way before that of France commenced, and took but little pleasure in the innovations which the envoys of so-called liberty forced upon her. The French commissaries therefore declared to the inhabitants, "Ye who throw down the trees of liberty, proclaim, in so doing, that ye will remain slaves for ever. Reason does not exist for you, and ye are unworthy to enjoy the rights of man."

After the fall of Napoleon, the French code, and many regulations (oppressive more especially for the proprietors in chief) were abolished; other things, however, as being useful and judicious, were retained, as, for instance, regulations respecting trusts, municipal laws which no longer appeared adapted to the times, commercial law, &c.

Great as were the changes made by Leopold's legislation in the domains, in feudal and ecclesiastical property, and in regard to the disposal of landed property, they scarcely affected the state of the mezzajuoli, halfings, tenants who cultivate lands on condition of sharing the produce with the landlords. Panegyrists, keeping the state of Tuscany more especially in view, assert that, of all the predicaments in which a farmer can be placed, this is best for forming the head and heart, for teaching temperance, and for giving a property that cannot be misused. The mezzajuolo has no taxes to pay,

knows no cares. He has no trouble with buying and selling, with men-servants and women-servants; he has no expenses, needs no capital, finds everywhere an adequate return for his labour, is co-proprietor without inconvenience, and content without passion and irritation. Between him and his landlord there subsists a paternal, a human relation, a relation of real community, such as the feudal system perhaps aimed at but never attained.

If we consider and compare the Tuscan and Milanese co-partner, their clothing, habitation, fare, their appearance and their behaviour, there is no doubt that those light points are more conspicuous in the former than in the latter. But here there is no absolute exemption from shadow. In the first place, many landlords assert that in Tuscany they are placed in too unfavourable and the farmers in too favourable a situation; that they had too liberally lent a hand to expensive improvements, the produce of which went chiefly into the pockets of the latter; that the debts of the farmers commonly fell upon them, and that they very often maintained themselves longer in undisturbed possession than the impoverishing landlords; that finally, they were not to be diverted by any remonstrances from their vicious system of management, and by their negative obstinacy tired out the most patient.

Others again remark that the disposition of igno-

rant landlords to interfere in the system of management can but operate detrimentally, and their declining circumstances arise from other causes than the too favourable position of the farmer. The very precarious nature of the crop, (especially grapes and olives,) it is easier for the landlord to get over than the tenant, and the latter scarcely ever has opportunity to lay by any thing. Nay, such an acquisition of capital would act detrimentally in driving him out of his condition, as no other way presents itself to him for thriving within his natural circle. Thus, then, he lives on from year to year, making no provision for the future, and though custom leaves him in general in possession, still there are not wanting instances of his burdens being increased, and of the exercise of the right of turning him out without assigning a reason. If, moreover, the landlord is sometimes saddled with debts of the tenants, this is an argument against the whole system ; since either necessity obliged him to contract debts, or the landlord cannot keep a sufficiently vigilant eye upon the idle and the disorderly.

In order to remedy several of these inconveniences, it has been proposed, instead of the merely verbal agreement for a year almost universally customary, to substitute written contracts. To this it has been objected : the usage is clear, certain, and well known. Amidst the infinite diversity of cir-



cumstances, a fixed form of agreement would either be too particular, and therefore unsuitable, or it must be confined to generals, and consequently of no use. The genuine foundation of this compact, mutual confidence, must suffer from the introduction of written agreements; mistrust would take its place, and the tenant, unable to write or read, would at last have the worst of it, and be subjected to harder conditions. If defects exist, they lie not in the forms but in the persons and in other causes.

When I consider all that I have heard and read in praise and censure of the system of the *mezzadria*, the following appears to be the result.

Firstly—In certain states of society it is a natural condition; but it affords no general rule for all countries and all times.

Secondly—The well-being or discomfort of landlords and tenants depends less on the main condition of a division of the produce, than upon other minor conditions, circumstances, and customs.

Thirdly—The *mezzadria* invariably secures, by the division in kind, against extreme poverty; but, on the other hand, it prevents advancement, and keeps persons in the same state of mediocrity. Hence the country people say, *Chi e nato povero sarà sempre povero*—whoever is born poor will always be poor. So long as another proverb is generally recognized, on account of its truth—*Tante*

*mute, tante cadute*—every change of tenants is a loss—the worst degeneracy is avoided. But if, from the increase of population and the increased offers of tenants, a mischievous disposition to augment their burdens should seize the landlords, then, in place of the humane, the paternal, the joint interest, there will succeed a frightful tyranny, an execrable monopoly of private property, the impoverishment and degeneracy of whole nations. From this state of Ireland, Tuscany, thank God, is far removed; and whoever is acquainted with the Irish principle of letting for money, must admit that the abolition of the *mezzadria* and the adoption of that money-letting system would be a retrograde step for Tuscany, and the adoption of the joint crop system a great advance for Ireland. As, however, many Italian writers know nothing of Germany, they treat this subject as though there were no other and better system than those two. Of this more hereafter.

How is it, then, that individuals assert that not only do the landlords wish for a fixed rent instead of the division in kind, but also that the tenants wish to become farmers? So that it is rather poverty, convenience, and ignorance, than any other reasons, which deter from a modification of the system. On this subject I shall quote some passages from the instructive *Giornale agrario*. Retrench-

ment of expence on the part of the higher classes, says M. Landucci,\* and activity on the part of individuals, afford the only means of retrieving deranged circumstances. Then property will no longer be managed and possessed by distant and embarrassed proprietors, who think of nothing but how to obtain the highest possible income for the moment, regardless what mischief and diminished produce may ensue in future.

The minute attention of small proprietors, it is said in another place,† gives to every country a great number of useful and productive economical establishments, and is attended with the improved cultivation of large tracts of land. For the benefit of agriculture (says M. Bonarotti, v. 108, and to the same effect M. Landucci, vii. 379,) and for the advantage of intelligent proprietors, I should like to associate myself with those who prefer letting for long terms, and still more would I recommend the fixed rent.

Without, then, shutting the eyes to the fair side of the Tuscan *mezzadria*, or wishing for a sudden change; without ever recommending a violent one; all these remarks nevertheless point to the possibility of, and even a disposition to, modifications. But if it is not wished that this should occasion greater loss than gain, the *mezzadria* must not, as

\* Vol x. p. 163.

† Vol. vii. p. 256.

M. Ricci justly maintains, be exchanged for an Irish or even an English system of letting for a term.\* In this course there are steps which cannot be avoided, and on each the country people are fain to linger, so long as the possible evils and abuses are not converted into real. Then the tenant accepted for a year will have recourse to tenure for a term, the tenant for a term to the hereditary tenure or the hereditary rent, and lastly the hereditary farmer to absolutely free property.

With increasing consciousness of their own worth, all are thronging towards this last and highest step, which leads more than any other to the corporeal and intellectual development of man, reconciles being and having with one another, and becomes the richest source of the noblest love of country.

But, with the acquisition or the renting of property, every thing is not accomplished and placed on one and the same permanently prosperous footing; on the other hand, the new state has also its new and peculiar dangers. To wish to return on account of these to the no-property system, would be preferring slavery to liberty, because the latter also generates abuses. For the family right and hereditary right of the proprietors, for the rights of the first born, and those born afterwards, for the union and division of estates, various regulations

\* Vol. vii. p. 302.

may be framed according to circumstances, without attempting to interfere in every thing. Two dangers in particular must not be overlooked: the first, an immoderate division of landed property in populous countries; and secondly, the buying up of small landed properties, by which one would be thrown back again to the beginning.

But enough for to-day, though the subject is by no means exhausted. Thus we might inquire, for instance, whether the living in close villages as in Germany, or in scattered dwellings like the Italian husbandmen, deserves the preference? whether the precarious culture of the vine and olive does not particularly require long leases? whether the English manufacturing population would not be great gainers if they could be metamorphosed into *half-lings*, or if the system of the *mezzadria* could be applied to them?

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## LETTER LXVII.

Tuscany—Cadastre—Land-Tax—Municipal Institutions.

Florence, June 9th.

To the statements given in my last letter may be appropriately appended some particulars concerning the Florentine *cadastre*. The defects of the former one led, on the 8th of January, 1818, to the order

for preparing a new one; and, after the persons charged with this commission had minutely informed themselves of the mode of proceeding observed in other countries, and laid down general principles, they commenced their operations. In 1828 the measurements were finished, in 1829 the maps, in 1830 the valuation, and in 1834 the new and more equitable division of the old tax. There was found to be a superficial extent of 6,389,000 *quadrati*, of 10,000 Tuscan fathoms each, about a French *arpent*; of these 209,000, (in roads, rivers, &c.) were not taxable; so that there remained 6,180,000 liable to tax, which formed 2,276,000 separate pieces (*appezzamenti*).

The year 1818 and the lowest average prices were taken as the groundwork for calculating the produce, and any objections which the tax-payers had to make were listened to. It was on the net income only that the tax was to be levied. The expences of the land-owners for rivers, dams, and the like, were very properly deducted, for they amount annually to four million and a half lire; and regard was likewise paid to the heavy rates with which landed property is burdened on the part of the communes. As, namely, the land-tax constitutes by far the greater portion of the income of the communes, and must cover the most considerable part of the expenditure, it amounts to from

## 28 PRODUCE OF LANDED PROPERTY.

1  $\frac{22}{100}$  lire to 20  $\frac{22}{100}$ , or on an average 9  $\frac{11}{100}$  lire per cent., or more than the government levies for its necessities.

The taxable rent (which, from the mode of valuation, is far below the actual produce) amounts to 44,339,000 lire, of which 13,232,000 arise from houses and manufactories. A *quadrato* yields a produce of 7  $\frac{18}{100}$  lire, and the landed property of each person (a patrimony) about 299 lire.

The following table furnishes information concerning the division and produce of landed property.

|         | Net Income.   | Number of Proprietors. | Total Income.   |
|---------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Between | 1 & 100 lire. | 87,917                 | 2,622,000 lire. |
| Up to   | 500           | 31,467                 | 7,115,000       |
|         | 1,000         | 7,025                  | 4,945,000       |
|         | 2,000         | 3,834                  | 5,381,000       |
|         | 3,000         | 1,331                  | 2,228,000       |
|         | 4,000         | 663                    | 2,256,000       |
|         | 5,000         | 392                    | 1,819,000       |
|         | 10,000        | 754                    | 5,238,000       |
|         | 15,000        | 222                    | 2,735,000       |
|         | 20,000        | 85                     | 1,472,000       |
|         | 30,000        | 84                     | 2,063,000       |
|         | 40,000        | 29                     | 988,000         |
|         | 50,000        | 22                     | 972,000         |
|         | 100,000       | 21                     | 1,411,000       |
| Above   | 100,000       | 10                     | 2,283,000       |

Among the greater landed proprietors, the state, or the reigning family, is by far the highest, though I observe the foundling hospital set down as deriving a net income from land of 191,000 lire.

Respecting the share of the different branches of the clergy, I have been furnished with the following:—

|                                                                                                  |               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Simple benefices ( <i>beneficii simplicia</i> ) derive from landed property a net income of..... | 429,000 lire. |
| Canonicates and benefices binding to residence .....                                             | 327,000       |
| Fraternities .....                                                                               | 14,000        |
| Convents of Monks .....                                                                          | 542,000       |
| ———— Nuns .....                                                                                  | 594,000       |
| Bishops .....                                                                                    | 301,000       |
| Churches .....                                                                                   | 46,000        |
| Parsonages .....                                                                                 | 1,144,000     |
| Charitable Institutions .....                                                                    | 391,000       |

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Total, (including the hundreds) 3,790,000

If the domains be added, there is about one eighth part of the landed property immoveable in the same hands.

The subjoined table shows how the land is employed, the space occupied by each branch of agriculture, and the net rent.



|                                              | Quadrati. | Produce.      | Net Rent per<br>Quadrato. |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Vine .....                                   | 644,000   | 12,239 M lire | 19 lire.                  |
| Vine & Olive                                 | 462,000   | 7,195         | 15,57                     |
| Arable Land                                  | 997,000   | 4,622         | 4,63                      |
| Wood of all<br>kinds .....                   | 1,661,000 | 2,971         | 1,79                      |
| Chestnuts ...                                | 361,000   | 1,144         | 3,17                      |
| Natural & ar-<br>tificial Mea-<br>dows ..... | 79,000    | 865           | 10,83                     |
| Pasture .....                                | 1,870,000 | 1,462         | 0,78                      |
| Various Pro-<br>ductions ...                 | 73,000    | 604           |                           |
| Buildings ( <i>fab-<br/>bricati</i> )        | 28,000    | 13,232        |                           |

Total in round

Numbers 6,180,000 44,339,000, or about ten  
million dollars.

This table shows in an instructive manner, not only the space occupied by each branch of agriculture, but also its productiveness, and accounts for the disposition to extend the one and contract others, for instance, to turn woodland and pasture to other purposes.

The preparation of the new *cadastre* cost  $1\frac{17}{100}$  lire per *quadrato* in the state of the church,  $1\frac{12}{100}$  in France, and  $1\frac{3}{100}$  in Tuscany.

The state will annually levy as before a net revenue of about 3,150,000 lire, or 7 lire in 100.

I now come to another subject. It is a remarkable phenomenon, that the cities and communes which were once so omnipotent in Italy have gradually lost almost all their rights, and become subject to a nearly arbitrary superior direction. Sensible of this defect, the Archduke Leopold says, in his new municipal regulation of the 26th of May, 1774, that he hopes a more intimate acquaintance with their wants, as well as the right of examining the receipts and the expenditure of the communes, of assessing the taxes, and of giving their consent in all matters, will awaken and strengthen the zeal of the citizens for the general welfare. By virtue of this law, amended in 1816, every one is inserted in the register of citizens who possesses landed property, and pays annually a certain amount of taxes. The clergy, institutions, the treasury, &c. also possess the like right, and upon occasion appoint a representative to exercise it. In every town there are a gonfaloniere, or burgomaster, several priors or municipal councillors, and a greater council. The number of the members of the latter, as well as that of the priors, differs, and is not governed by any general principle. Thus we find in

Florence . 11 priors and 20 councillors

Prato . . 8        „        16        „

|              |   |   |               |             |
|--------------|---|---|---------------|-------------|
| Pistoja      | . | 7 | priors and 12 | councillors |
| Arezzo       | . | 7 | „             | 16 „        |
| Fiesole      | . | 2 | „             | 5 „         |
| St. Casciano |   | 5 | „             | 20 „        |

The gonfaloniere is appointed by the grand-duke for three years, from among the citizens and on the proposal of the superior authorities. Half of the priors and all the councillors are changed annually. The mode of their election is this: the names of all the citizens written on tickets are put into a bag, from which two tickets are drawn for every office that is to be filled. Any person engaged in petty traffic may be set aside by the magistracy; and, finally, the *providitore del camere* always selects from the two which he pleases. The gonfaloniere, priors, and councillors receive no salary, excepting the produce of certain rates. Whoever refuses to take the office pays a fine of from 50 to 100 lire. The clergy and officers of government are exempt: convents and Jews appoint a deputy. The administrative functions are in the hands of the gonfaloniere and the priors; but in many cases they are obliged to obtain the assent of the government. On quitting office, a year must elapse before a person can again be gonfaloniere or prior, and three years before a member of the council can be re-elected. Every municipal officer must be at least thirty years old, and at least two-thirds

of them must be present at every meeting for the despatch of business. The great council has no continuous functions, nor any permanent superintendence over receipts and expenditure; but is only heard on occasion of innovations, sales, imposition of taxes, and the like. The lower class of inhabitants pay a fixed and very moderate sum to the city taxes; so that the chief burden rests upon the ground landlords, more especially as very few towns of Tuscany supply any part of their wants by a tax on articles of consumption.

Such are the principal features of a well-meant municipal regulation; but which, on the whole, is still imperfect and confers but scanty rights. It would certainly be an improvement if the drawing from among the whole of the citizens were to cease, a wider sphere of action were assigned to the council, the term for which the priors hold office were lengthened, and the towns were left to propose their own burgomasters.

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### LETTER LXVIII.

Leghorn—Population—Commerce—Taxes—Customs.

Florence, June 10th.

By way of change I shall to-day carry you to Leghorn.

The times when a state or a city could acquire a power wholly disproportionate to its natural relations, and seize upon commerce in particular, are past, and will, it is to be hoped, never return through a destroying supremacy. The universally diffused activity has prescribed to that individual activity its measure and limit, beyond which in general it cannot pass. Thus Leghorn finds itself limited by Marseilles, Genoa, Ancona, Venice, Trieste, &c., and can reckon upon the custom of at most from three to four millions of people. As every one is now striving to buy and sell for himself without any intermediate person, the commission trade must decrease, and so must that with Africa, because France possesses Algiers. Still Leghorn keeps increasing in size, and displays activity, though in a particular way. To the mere traveller, Genoa, Venice, and even Pisa, are more interesting than Leghorn.

In the year 1791 the town contained 50,000 inhabitants, 64,000 in 1807, and 76,000 in 1836.

In 1757, the amount of its commercial transactions was computed at 5 million lire, in 1835 the exports were estimated at from 52 to 63 million, and the imports at from 66 to 85 million. Though these calculations may be arbitrary and exaggerated, yet that it has made very great advances even to the natural limits of trade is not to be doubted,

any more than the magnitude of the fluctuations which it has suffered can be questioned.

There entered in the year 1825 905 vessels.

1826 721

1827 1017

1828 867

1829 726

1832 1266

1833 1150

1836 831

1837 1075

|                                            |   |      |      |
|--------------------------------------------|---|------|------|
| Or including steam-vessels<br>and coasters | } | 1836 | 5503 |
|                                            |   | 1837 | 5897 |

On an average the number of vessels has not increased since 1826. The number of vessels that entered was

|                            | 1825. | 1836. | 1837. | Average from<br>1815 to 1834. |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------------|
| English                    | 170   | 156   | 185   | 234                           |
| Tuscan                     | 161   | 114   | 140   | 178                           |
| Sardinian                  | 152   | 191   | 184   |                               |
| Austrian                   | 111   | 55    | 139   | 89                            |
| Neapolitan                 | 71    | 98    | 80    | 79                            |
| French                     | 62    | 15    | 40    | 83                            |
| Spanish                    | 38    | 12    | 13    | 25                            |
| Swedish and<br>Norwegian } | 36    | 14    | 23    | 48                            |
| Roman                      | 35    |       |       | 17                            |

|                             | 1825. | 1836. | 1837. | Average from<br>1815 to 1834. |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------------|
| American                    | 29    | 32    | 18    | 32                            |
| Russian                     | 18    | 46    | 96    | 54                            |
| Danish                      | 12    | 11    | 4     | 21                            |
| Dutch (and<br>Hanoverian) } | 9     |       |       | 7                             |
| Algerine                    | 1     |       |       |                               |
| Greek                       |       | 55    | 104   | 12                            |
| Ionian                      |       | 11    | 22    | 5                             |
| Belgian,                    |       |       |       |                               |
| Dutch,                      |       |       |       |                               |
| Prussian,                   |       |       |       | 19 Turkish.                   |
| Hanoverian,                 |       | 23    | 27    | 1 Barbary.                    |
| Turkish,                    |       |       |       | 1 Hamburg.                    |
| Roman. }                    |       |       |       |                               |

From this list it appears that some states, in regard to this direction of commercial activity, materially declined, (Spain, for instance,) while others flourished, and others were set in motion in particular years by extraordinary circumstances and demand.

The principal articles of import are corn, colonial commodities, (especially sugar, coffee, and pepper,) manufactured goods, metals, &c.; and the chief articles of exportation, leather, oil, soap, borax, straw hats, caps, liqueurs, starch, coral, &c.

Leghorn, as it is well known, is a free port, and

many duties particularly oppressive for commerce were abolished in the year 1834, (perhaps too late,) and in their stead a tax was laid upon the mercantile profession, to be divided by it and levied according to four classes. Various duties on articles of consumption are likewise levied at Leghorn.

The fixed receipts of the town (from rent and the like) amounted in 1838 to about 20,000 lire ; the variable, arising from taxes of all kinds, to 861,000. For 1839 the receipts and expences are calculated at 852,000 lire. The first custom-house regulation which is worthy of mention, and which suppressed great abuses, is that of the year 1781 ; the second, proceeding still farther, of the year 1791. All the lines of custom-house in the interior were abolished, the duties levied at all places of import equalized, the customs' roads specified, and circumstantial instructions given relative to the administration properly so called. Those custom-house laws paid homage to the then prevailing mercantile system, inasmuch as (in order to promote native manufactures) they impeded or prohibited the export of many raw articles, for instance, wool, silk, rags, hides, &c. It appears extraordinary, on the other hand, that cattle and corn were allowed to be imported and exported duty free. In 1816, the duties on all articles not produced and manufactured in the country were raised



one-fourth ; but in 1833 many of them were again lowered. The net receipts of the customs amount to 9 million lire, (or much more than double the land-tax,) and the charges of collection to about 1,250,000.

At the gates of Florence the receipts, the whole of which go to the state, were, in 1832, 2,120,000 lire. Florence consumed yearly 497,000 *barili* of wine, and 47,000 of oil. If this wine was drunk in Florence and by Florentines only, and we take in round numbers 500,000 *barili* and 100,000 Florentines, there would be annually 5 *barili*, or about 340 bottles per head ; but this must be far below the real consumption, for we must recollect that women drink less wine and children none at all.

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## LETTER LXIX.

Tuscany—Population—Army—Clergy and Monks—  
Universities.

Florence, June 11th.

The population of Tuscany amounted in 1815 to 1,169,000 inhabitants, in 1825 to 1,256,000, and in 1838, in a round number, to a million and a half. For this population an army of 7 to 8,000 men, partly on furlough, appears, in comparison with many other states, moderate enough.

For the proper management of the levies, a commission composed of magistrates and other respectable men is annually formed in each commune. It is left for them to determine what way the number of recruits required of the commune, in proportion to its population, shall be obtained, and that with the least inconvenience to the inhabitants, and without detriment to the state. They generally begin with looking about for volunteers, and without ceremony pick out any idle useless individuals, if they are liable to military duty. This liability commences with the 21st year, and the military service lasts six years. Ecclesiastics, students, persons married in the current year, only sons of widows or of fathers seventy years old, fathers of families who live by manual labour, &c. are exempted.

The commission decides, after taking the volunteers and persons of bad character, whether the number still deficient shall be obtained by money or by lot. In the former case, it has a right to raise a recruiting tax by classes upon all who are liable to military service, that is to say, all who are not soldiers, consequently, even civil officers, fathers of families, Jews, only sons, &c. This method is sometimes preferred, because it divides the burden among many, and secures to the recruit a bounty of 50 scudi. In other places they seek, on the con-

trary, to avoid the paying of money, and conceive that, as the number to be levied is but small, the other alternative, the lot, is not attended with any great danger. The person who is drawn may, but, if a Jew or a heretic, he must, find a substitute. In every town there is a civic watch composed of respectable persons. The arms are deposited in a public place, and an inspection is held once a month.

It is pleasing to see that in Tuscany all peaceful objects are not made subordinate to military ones, that the greater part of the revenues of the state are not expended on the latter, and that the inhabitants enjoy the welcome liberty of dividing and lightening the burden of recruiting. But, on the other hand, there are complaints that the selection of loose persons and the acceptance of bad substitutes are prejudicial to the spirit of the army and diminish respect for it. It is true that, in Tuscany, among the cardinal virtues, moderation takes precedence of valour, and there is reason to doubt whether uninterrupted tranquillity, self-chosen activity, and æsthetic feeling, are adequate means for so steeling a people that, in times of impending danger, they shall sacrifice every thing to love of country, and if not gloriously conquer, yet leave in their fall a model for happier generations.

If Tuscany has a less numerous army of soldiers,

it has, like all Italy, so much the more numerous a host of foundlings, ecclesiastics, and monks. Balbi gives the following numbers for this country.

The secular clergy consisted in 1830 of 7,000 priests.

The other clergy (*chierici*) . . . 3,000

Total . . . 10,000

There are, with a provision,

Monks . . . . 1,150

Nuns . . . . 4,200

Mendicant monks . . . 1,400

8,150

General total of persons . . . 18,150

There are convents of monks with a provision 45

„ nunneries . . . . . 67

„ convents of mendicants . . . . 50

Total . . . 162

For the year 1835, I find the number of the secular clergy stated at 8,901, that of the monks at 2,461, that of the nuns at 3,939, that of the convents of monks at 133, (52 of which were mendicant convents) and that of the nunneries at 69. Which of these statements is most accurate, or how the variations that have crept in are to be accounted for, I have not learned with certainty.

In so highly polished a land as Tuscany, the

value of education and instruction has by no means escaped the attention of the government and of individuals; yet much still remains to be done, and schools and universities appear to be very scanty in comparison with the number and revenues of the clergy and especially of the monks. Indeed, the Italians do not acquire knowledge by means of their universities, but in spite of them; and how can governments be surprised if many, both old and young, have either no ideas at all, or false ones, of passing events, of social relations, states, constitutions, and governments, since every genuine avenue to science and experience is cut off from them by the perverse one-sidedness and silly apprehension of their rulers!

Would it not be better if Tuscany had one capital complete university than two, which are equally far from answering the conception and the end, as the persons who hold appointments in them most deeply feel and most bitterly lament? On the average of late years, Pisa had from five to six hundred, Siena from two to three hundred students, the greatest number of the law, the smallest of divinity.

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## LETTER LXX.

Tuscany—Administration of Justice—Jews—Revenues and  
Expenditure of the State—Public Debt.

Florence, June 12th.

As in every state, so in Tuscany, there are authorities for the different branches of the administration, but, from the smallness of the country, several of them can be committed to one person, or the intermediate authorities, indispensable in an extensive empire, can be spared. Instead, therefore, of tiring you with particulars, which are in some measure matters of course, I will notice some points in the judicial system which was new-modelled last year.

In the first place, the vicars and podesta are judges in the individual places or in smaller districts, to the value of 400 lire, and in many other cases without reference to value, for instance on wages, non-performance of contract by the half-lings, removal of boundaries, possession, &c. Fourteen tribunals, as they are called, judge in first instance in all matters exceeding in value 400 lire, and appeals may be made to them from the decision

of the vicars, &c., when the value exceeds 70 lire. From their second decision, there is no further appeal; but from the first decision of these tribunals appeal may be made to the superior court, (*corte regia*) when the value exceeds 800 lire. In the tribunal of first instance at least three of the judges, and in the superior court five, must give their opinion. The latter is composed of a president, four vice-presidents, and sixteen councillors. In criminal matters, there are the same gradations and divisions as in civil suits.

In no case whatever is there a jury; the proceedings, on the other hand, are always public, and in smaller matters below the value of 70 lire, mostly oral, but short notes are committed to writing in a protocol. A sort of chamber of accusation decides whether penal proceedings ought to be opened. The punishments are mild, but there is no appeal from a penal sentence. The whole course of proceeding is copied from the French, and is therefore as much extolled by some as it is censured by others. After this commencement, a new civil code must certainly be framed, for a beginning has been made there only where the task appeared to be the easiest.

The Jews are under the ordinary judges and the laws, but they have a board formed from among themselves for their divine worship, schools, poor,

&c. The relations of state and church are to be judged according to the laws of Leopold, but of late much that was formerly disputed has been ceded to the latter. A monk is not allowed to take the vows before his 24th year, nor a nun before her 30th; but notwithstanding this restriction, their number has increased since 1815.

In the year 1828, the total revenue of the state amounted, according to a statement with which I have been furnished, to 25,186,000 lire.

lire.

Of this sum the customs and commer-

|                         |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| cial duties produced .. | 8,401,000 |
| Land-tax .....          | 3,032,000 |
| Salt .....              | 3,725,000 |
| Lottery .....           | 2,309,000 |
| Tobacco .....           | 1,577,000 |

For 1826, I find the revenue stated at 25,104,000 lire, and the expenditure at 23,078,000 lire, which would show a large, but to me doubtful surplus.

The charges of collection amount in general to 20 per cent. of the receipts. The military establishment cost even in Tuscany, 4,287,000 lire, while 856,000 only are allotted to public instruction and the fine arts. The expences for the court are set down as follows :—



|                                              |           |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                              | lire.     |
| Management and payments in cash .....        | 2,604,000 |
| Embellishment of palaces, buildings &c. .... | 231,000   |
| Keeping up the same .....                    | 115,000   |
| Gardens .....                                | 21,000    |
| Flowers .....                                | 11,000    |
| Hunting parties .....                        | 34,000    |

---

Total 3,016,000

The following items are also worth quoting :—

|                                                                                |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                                                                | lire.   |
| For the University of Pisa .....                                               | 150,000 |
| Purchase of works of art, excavations, &c. ....                                | 23,000  |
| Egyptian Travels .....                                                         | 22,000  |
| Map of Tuscany .....                                                           | 7,000   |
| To the Pergola theatre .....                                                   | 13,000  |
| Citrons ( <i>cedrati</i> ) for the pope, and flowers<br>for the churches ..... | 1,601   |

Though there exist all sorts of public debts there is no entry of them in the published accounts, neither are they ever heard of in the market or at the Exchange; a proof that their amount is small, that their security (partly on mortgage) is unquestionable, that they mostly continue in the same hands, and that they are easy to cover and to discharge.

The improvements which the grand-duke is carrying on with judgment and energy in the Ma-

remme have occasioned many extraordinary expences. It is hoped that they will some day amply repay all that has been laid out upon them. So much is certain that they already contribute much to the health of the population, formerly afflicted, nay, swept away, by disease. Many an undertaking would be facilitated, if laws like those of Prussia concerning redemptions and the founding of absolute property were issued and carried into operation.

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### LETTER LXXI.

Florence—Income and Expenditure of the City—Municipal Regulations.

Florence, June 13th.

I HAVE just received a statement of the receipts and expences of the city of Florence for the year 1834, and shall extract some of the principal items, as it would be too tedious and uninteresting to enter into all the petty details. The total income amounts to 818,000 lire, and the expenditure (with the exception of a covering sum,) is stated to be just as high. Among the receipts we find:—

lire.

|                                             |         |
|---------------------------------------------|---------|
| Fixed income for farms, ground-rents &c.    | 115,000 |
| Extraordinary income .. .. .                | 2,000   |
| of which 1900 lire for opening the theatres |         |

|                                                                             | lire.   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Compensation from the State for the tax<br>on articles of consumption ..... | 70,000  |
| Fines for not attending the meetings of the<br>magistrates .....            | 100     |
| Family-tax .....                                                            | 50,000  |
| Land and house-tax .....                                                    | 616,000 |

The last two items are of most importance, since the city derives no benefit from the tax on articles of consumption ; but 46,000 lire out of the family-tax, and 280,000 out of the land-tax, go to the state : thus these sums diminish the real income and expenditure of the city to about 492,000 lire.

Among the expences are the following items—

|                                                            | lire.   |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| For the extinction of debt (all in round<br>numbers) ..... | 13,000  |
| Do. military burdens of 1815-1816 ...                      | 16,000  |
| Charge for management, about .....                         | 25,000  |
| Preparation of the <i>Cadastre</i> .....                   | 13,000  |
| Streets, bridges, new buildings .....                      | 130,000 |
| Cleansing the city .....                                   | 25,000  |
| Lunatic hospital .....                                     | 35,000  |
| Foundling hospital .....                                   | 7,000   |
| Fire institution .....                                     | 21,000  |
| Schools .....                                              | 5,000   |
| Workhouse .....                                            | 60,000  |
| Public festivities .....                                   | 24,000  |

Some expences which would otherwise fall upon the city the state has taken upon itself, with so much the more reason as the tax on consumption (excepting a small compensation,) goes into its coffers. The founding hospital costs the city (notwithstanding the income that it derives from foundations,) more than the schools do; the public festivities as much as the whole management, and the lunatic hospital, 10,000 lire more than the latter. The expence for the streets, (on account of the capital but not durable pavement,) is very high; but in the sum above stated are included various extraordinary outlays. A provision of 43,600 lire is made out of other funds for lighting the city.

To my former communications relative to the municipal regulations, I have to add some particulars that I have just learned. The sum demanded for admission into the roll of citizens is not everywhere alike, and, singular enough, it is higher in some of the small towns than in the larger. It is fixed by the towns themselves. The personal tax amounting to from 2 to 90 lire, mostly divided into six, (in Florence into ten) classes, appears much more natural; but no regard is had to this on admission into the roll of citizens. There is, moreover, a difference between the qualification for prior and for a member of the great council. The former post can be held only by such as in Florence, (ac-

cording to the new *cadastre*) possess a net income from landed property of 420 lire. On the other hand, every one possessing any landed property, however small, is admitted into the great Borsa, (in Florence about 5,000 persons,) out of which the members of the great council are drawn by lot. Now the great council has nothing whatever to do with current business, but it has a right to be heard on the subject of new offices, institutions, &c. If then the lot falls on incapable persons, they must be permanently kept aloof, or their spontaneous concurrence must be reckoned upon. At any rate, election by lot from among a mass of several thousand citizens is the very worst expedient; (though the Athenians employed it to their prejudice); and it is proved in Tuscany, (as elsewhere) that forms, in appearance extraordinarily liberal, in reality and necessarily throw all power into the hands of a few leading persons and of the government, because their strict application is impossible or leads to confusion.

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## LETTER LXXII.

Journey to Rome—Heat—Best Season for visiting Italy.

Rome, June 18th.

As you see by the date that I have arrived safe in Rome, I shall continue my report chronologically.

On Saturday the 15th, packed, paid my bill, once more visited the cathedral and part of the Cascines, and left Florence about eleven o'clock. As far as Siena, well cultivated hills and dales, and from the city, which stands high, extensive and beautiful prospects. But soon afterwards, bare unsightly clay-hills, till nightfall covered alike beauty and deformity. Upon an average, the thermometer stood at  $24^{\circ}$  ( $86^{\circ}$  Fahr.) but rose between twelve and two o'clock to  $28^{\circ}$  ( $90^{\circ}$  F.); nay, just under the roof of the coach, upon which the sun shone, to  $39^{\circ}$  ( $119^{\circ}$  F.) As it is divided no further than  $40^{\circ}$  ( $122^{\circ}$  F.) I removed it, lest it should burst. In the evening and at night, moon, planets, and stars, wonderfully brilliant, and, on each side, many thousands (no exaggeration,) of luminous glow-worms, or as I almost believe of elves performing their dances. The coach long, commodious—refreshing sleep. At daybreak, (Sunday, the 16th.) near Radicofani, perched upon a wild rock,  $13^{\circ}$  ( $61^{\circ}$  F.) and gradually rising to  $26^{\circ}$  ( $90^{\circ}$  F.) consequently two degrees less than on the preceding day, but a great deal more dust than on the Florentine roads. At Ponte a Centino enter the papal territory without search—neither indeed had I anything whatever chargeable with duty. Aquapendente finely situated, but at this time without *aqua*. The lake of Bolsena was pleasing, if only for the

sake of variety, but no more to be compared with the beautiful lakes of northern Italy than a smaller one in the vicinity of Ronciglione. Both, indeed, are much more like the lakes of the Mark of Brandenburg than those of Switzerland. At Montefiascone, for dinner, broth scarcely fit to take, and a piece of beef without sauce, mustard, or addition of any kind, and so dry that one might have wrapped it in white satin without being afraid of soiling it. The wine bad, and tasting of the musty cask, the Orvieto better than we had at Baccano. From Montagna, the first glimpse of Rome. Recollections of Terni, Civita castellana, and Soracte, standing detached. Drove rapidly through Viterbo. The red esparsette and tall yellow flowering broom very common; the trees on either side cut down, to deprive robbers of lurking places. Beggary more than enough; but one gets hardened, and gives to none, because one cannot give to hundreds, and every gift only attracts the vermin. The principles which the Roman government alone formerly adopted in regard to mendicity have now extended to Florence and Turin. It is an allowed, nay, even a privileged trade and means of subsistence; and Austria alone adheres to more enlightened principles than the native governments. Another most lovely evening, so that one takes less notice of the desert of the Campagna di Roma. The camp of the herdsmen and their

night-fires indicated, however, an application of the soil, such as is scarcely to be met with anywhere else in Europe. But of this hereafter.

Ponte Molle and the Tiber roused me from various reveries. Rome must transport us from the often trivial present, into another world though the tragic element prevails in it, in order to purify the mind by fear and pity. About ten o'clock, we reached the city, and about half-past ten, I was set down at the Cesari hotel, close to the Corso and the Dogana, and consequently in the heart of the city.

As in the beginning of my journey the cold played a part, so now the heat claims some notice. It rose yesterday, as I was told, for I had not hung up my thermometer, to  $28^{\circ}$  ( $96^{\circ}$  F.); and this morning at half-past five, I found it at  $18^{\circ}$  ( $72^{\circ}$  F.) though the windows in my room, adjoining to my bed-chamber, had been open all night. At this moment, (half-past six), I am obliged to shut up all close, because the temperature is rapidly rising.

Whoever comes to Italy for a month or two only would do best to choose the autumn; at least I cannot prefer winter here to summer, for,

1. The days in summer are longer, and allow you to see more in a shorter time.

2. In Italy too, nature is much less beautiful in



winter, and most of the trees, as well as the vine, leafless.

3. The heat lasts only during certain hours in the day, whereas, the evenings and nights are most delightful.

4. The same degree of heat is with us more oppressive, and the sirocco alone has the same effect as the sultriness of a northern climate.

5. The winterly cold in Italy, in the almost total absence of all means of warming, is more unpleasant than the heat.

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### LETTER LXXIII.

Rome—Argentina Theatre.

Rome, June 19th.

WITH good ice I cooled the rest of the heat, and then went (in compliance with ——'s kind invitation) to the Argentina Theatre, where the Montecchi, &c., was to be given with unusual éclat by M. Donzelli, the sister of the London Grisi, and Marini. After each air, these were thrice called for, and kept for minutes together in the attitude of thanks by clapping, acclamations, and applause, till in general the officious doctor, that Jack in both families, interposed to join the piece or the pieces toge-

gether, and to restore tranquillity. I was very angry with myself, because I could not share in this enthusiastic admiration. It is true this was partly attributable to external causes: the heat, namely, and the close air induced drowsiness, and *done gratuits* (administered still more liberally than in the Jews' Street) roused one again, and hopped up and down like the music. But this, in comparison with some of the latest pieces that I have seen in Italy, is a wonderful performance. Madame —— told a Bavarian, who placed Madame Devrient far above the Grisi here, that this arose from his ignorance of the language. This remark will not apply to me. I certainly prefer Devrient, Hähnel, and Malibran to this second Grisi, but I shall abstain from further criticism, for which the weather is much too warm.

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#### LETTER LXXIV.

Rome—Hunting—Remarks on the History of the Hohenstaufen—Peyron.

Rome, June 22nd.

ROME ought by right to elevate the tone of the mind; but the heart produces a contrary effect, and a passion for hunting, unfelt by me elsewhere, costs me time, as well as other friends or foes of

Italy. On the 31st of May, Tieck's birthday, the hunting season commenced, but I had no particular sport till I reached Rome. At first, I was most anxious to observe decorum, but lost a great deal of time for the sake of very little booty. I therefore thought it would be better to hold a grand *hottue* in bed, and to hunt all the greater preserves in the morning by daylight, and in the evening by candlelight. But, while I was in close pursuit of a long-horned or long-legged beast, ten others were falling foul of and worrying me. This, however, only serves to inflame the passion to such a degree that one makes no distinction between one's own territory and that of others. Evil example, too, corrupts good manners. To speak more plainly—opposite to me (the street is narrow) a couple of lusty women hunt all their preserves every evening by a capital light. At first I imagined, with my short sight, that these were phantasms of the heated blood. Clapping my spectacles on my nose, sure enough I saw every thing except the game; but the action with the thumb-nail proved that the chase had been successful.

From mere imitation, I soon raised myself to originality, and surpassed my models. At first, the stockings were pulled off, turned, and shaken out of the window. As my courage increased, I began to serve other garments in the same manner, pro-

fitting by the warning example of Professor B——, and taking good care not to drop, in the process of turning, preserve, game and all into the street. One would suppose that profusion of this kind would soon destroy the whole breed; but the ejected tenants presently pour or leap back, and every thing sets itself, like air and water, in a general equilibrium. — The everlasting Rome, you see, does not protect from such petty occupations and descriptions.

With increasing years, I am aware of an increasing fondness and dexterity for holding intercourse with the living instead of the dead, and I cannot, for the sake of a few manuscripts, turn entirely away from the present. Here, exerting my powers, I may gain perhaps ten, and there but one. But the belief (which many German scholars entertain), that one is more than ten, has long forsaken me, if ever I had it. If I find little that is exclusively literary useful to me, I only make “much ado about nothing,” and get laughed at; if I find much, the matter is almost worse; at least here I discover, on close self-examination, the root of the whole disposition or indisposition. The Hohenstaufen are my first love, to which I was faithful so many years, nay, still am. I carried them about more than the time prescribed by Horace, I nursed them, I tended them, and at length presented them

to the public. And must I now fling my love and my faith into the critical retort, and even rejoice when I have distilled both away! I cannot presumptuously say of my Hohenstaufen, they are everlasting because they exist. But if there is vital power in them for but one day, it was breathed into them by love and ardent enthusiasm, and not by a paper fire, which I am now called upon to kindle, in order to warm myself and them by it. Let another paint them, and draw them with Daguerre's minuteness, so that with a magnifying glass one may distinguish every little hair and feather, and pick them out if one likes; in this way I will not, in my old days, work myself up into an historian. At first, I sought the ground of the state that I have just described in idleness alone. You will not deny me the attestation of industry during my travels; and so I have been gradually urged onward and obliged to make an explicit confession, from which I cannot tell whether my guilt or innocence is to be inferred. At present, I am looking forward with satisfaction to Naples, because I shall there have nothing whatever to do with libraries. — This supplement to the chief confession seems sufficient to condemn a professor engaged in a literary tour. But are literature and science comprised exclusively in what others have already written, read, and printed?

After these fragments of merely personal history, I must at last turn to the external course of life. On Wednesday, June 19th, I dined with the king of Bavaria. A lively conversation was kept up at table about Germany, England, the Customs' Union, schools ; after dinner, I remained for a considerable time with his majesty alone, and we talked of ecclesiastical affairs, the spirit of the present time, the duties of kings, &c. It is impossible to possess greater sincerity, nobler sentiments, and a more laudable love of truth, than the king. He strives with all his might to prepare himself for the high function to which God has called him : such efforts carry their reward along with them, and thus the outward fruit too will not be wanting.

On Thursday, the 20th, I received a visit from Peyron, the great orientalist, who is now pursuing his inquiries concerning the Coptic in the Propaganda. He said that Champollion's assertions and proofs were more regular and more to be trusted than Seyfert's, but that the former had gone too far, and for ten steps forward one must take five backward. Many things that Champollion has alleged to be Coptic he could not recognize as such. From the mathematical regularity and stiffness of the language, he could not possibly believe that a poetical and historical literature, in the higher signification, had ever existed in Egypt.

For the arrangement and appreciation of the biblical manuscripts, the Alexandrian in particular, a new edition of the Coptic version, for which all requisite auxiliaries are at hand, would be extremely serviceable.

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### LETTER LXXV.

Rome — Nocturnal Concert — Feast of St. John — The Lateran.

Rome, June 25th.

IN the Piazza Colonna there are booths amply supplied with well-flavoured oranges and citrons, brilliantly lighted with numerous lamps and lanterns, decorated with flags, and fresh water is incessantly supplied by the copious fountain for making all sorts of cooling beverages. For a few bajocchi I refreshed myself, and hoped to sleep soundly after this rich Roman day. But about midnight (my repeater proclaimed the hour) I was wakened by the loud singing of two men who were addicted to the nasal ætacism; about one, two asses under my window engaged in a similar musical competition, and proved that they were bred in the Italian school. About two o'clock, a couple of cats commenced a duet, in which two numerous demi-choirs joined, with or without approbation. I was more

patient and attentive than the dogs of the neighbourhood, which, by their general barking, condemned this performance. The cats, with a noble consciousness of their talents, continued their modulations till the hisses of human envy issued from divers windows, and certain fluids were discharged on the heads of the singers, which raised their last efforts to the highest *sforzato*, and produced the most brilliant finale. Thus terminated the series of entertainments of day and night. Some bites, which critical fleas added to the feline melodies, I considered as absolutely superfluous, but was obliged to take them as an Italian make-weight thrown into the bargain.

On the 24th, St. John's day, a different world. Screened by my umbrella, I boldly sallied forth to encounter sun, dust, sirocco, and boys shouting *Piove!* on my way to the distant Lateran. After so many military reviews I wished once more to see an ecclesiastical one. But there was not an absolute lack of military parade, for dragoons opened and closed the procession of the pope and the cardinals. All the carriages were alike, all the horses black, all the trimmings red. The pope's coachman, &c., in great boots and red silk clothes. He himself, in all his splendour, bestowing benediction; the people taking part, but rather from old habit than from any religious feeling. In the church, a marshalled



procession of clergy, bishops, and cardinals, in various uniforms. The cardinals most of them so old and infirm that the quarrel between state and church would turn out very unfortunately for them, if it were to be decided on this spot with swords and fists. The pope borne aloft above all, shaded with peacock's feathers. As soon as he had passed, crowding, thrusting, talking, running this way and that way, as at a fair, without order, seriousness, devotion. A never-varying form may be the best, but has nothing new in it to awaken attention. The pope has a good-natured, benevolent countenance, and seems to enjoy excellent health. At least I could perceive nothing to lead me to think otherwise.

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### LETTER LXXVI.

Rome — Politics — Hanover — Etruscan Museum.

Rome, June 27th.

IN comparison with the vast quantity of politics which one can and must consume in England and France, one is stinted in Italy to a pretty homœopathic dose, and the newspapers play a merely subordinate part. But I have seen in them with great concern that — — —

So much the more agreeable to me was the peace-

ful turn in Hanoverian affairs. In comparison with the *grandes journées des grandes nations*, this German denouement is weak and insipid to those who are fond of Spanish pepper and French garlic; but in truth every German must rejoice at the moderation which was associated with firmness, at the piety which (out of self-respect itself) was never quite thrown aside, at the abstinence from all means that would have overshot the mark, and at the endeavours to bring the christian virtues of faith, love, and hope, into accordance with the other cardinal virtues. The most infatuated partisan is obliged to acknowledge all this with commendation, and so I hope for the best result.\* The historian is authorised to assert that but for the — — of — —, this fine chapter in German history would be wanting. But one such general rehearsal is sufficient; in a *Da capo* the overstrained strings might break.

I continue to live in my uniform, quiet way. Very hot days, very fine evenings. Every day something seen, heard, learned.

Yesterday I went with A — — to see the Etruscan museum, founded by the present pope, in the Vatican. It is surprisingly rich, well arranged, and affords an instructive view of the artistical

\* It is to be regretted that the prospect of a peaceful and amicable adjustment, which then appeared, has since vanished.

efforts, and also the mode of life, of that people. It is only to be wished that it may soon find official or voluntary describers and expounders — a thing hitherto not permitted.

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## LETTER LXXVII.

Rome, June 27th.

REFLEXIONS ON ART BY ONE OF THE UNINFORMED.

THIRD CONTINUATION.

DANGER OF BEAUTY.

THE — —, one of the finest women in Rome, called beauty the most dangerous gift of Heaven. Are not then all the gifts of Heaven dangerous, for instance, wealth, power, high birth, &c. ? And yet every one wishes for them, or at least very few would refuse them if offered. This arises by no means from mere censurable vanity, but because those gifts of Heaven possess a real and a great value, and a correct feeling tells men that it is possible at least to abstain from the abuse of them. But indeed, he to whom much is entrusted has much to answer for, and whoever runs giddily into danger perishes in it. According to an ancient tale, there was once a muff which possessed a miraculous property. Whoever blew into one end of it

became beautiful, and whoever blew into the other became virtuous; and this latter method the relater extolled beyond measure. When a boy, I thought it very absurd to set about acquiring virtue in this manner by blowing, and I had many a dispute on the subject with the singing-master of Wörlitz. Unluckily, the beauty-end of the muff is lost too; but a consolatory conviction long prevailed that even the person not endowed with beauty may derive from goodness the power and possibility of living beautifully. Since this notion has been lost, beauty has become a monopoly of few, and, in spite of its high price, a precarious, transient, dangerous, and yet envied monopoly.

The — — said further: I would rather be the ugliest man than the most beautiful woman in Rome; a declaration on which an interesting treatise might be written. Agreeably to received notions, several gentlemen protested against it; but I admitted the justice of her remark, because it would be intolerable to me to listen to or to accept the homage of innumerable cockcombs and puppies. The deep sigh with which the — — concurred, proved to me that my conclusion was no mere hypothesis, but that it was confirmed by many bitter and annoying experiences.

## THE VATICAN — TORCHLIGHT.

There is not in the wide world a spot that comprehends such an infinity and multiplicity of treasures for the arts and sciences as the Vatican : it is indeed the land of promise for artists and inquirers. But as, since the birth of Christ, there has been no exclusively elect land for religion, no exclusively holy land, so neither is there for art and science. Collections and academies have, it is true, often assisted ; but often too have they impeded and extinguished the most living life, the vital light. In the collection, history is made manifest, and history rightly understood begets at once wisdom and inspiration, but whoso contents himself with looking back never advances, and that nation which rests upon its laurels throws out no shoots for new wreaths.

In point of mass, Florence is far surpassed by the Vatican ; but the latter can boast of no perfectly beautiful woman, much less of a goddess, like the Venus de Medici, or that of Melos, or the Diana in Paris. The Vatican is richer in male figures ; but most of them belong to a time when art had already declined, and when, if not the technical handling, at least the conception, had become less spirited. In comparison with the works of Phidias, the Meleager, Antinous, and the like, appear but mean ; nay, one cannot admire even the Belvedere Apollo

with such enthusiasm as in Winkelmann's time. Assuredly, a god surpassing, in point of art, the Florentine Niobe and her children, must be a very different one and *altioris indaginis*. Laocoon and his sons show the highest that technical skill is capable of ; but the principle of the figures composing the group approaches very near to that of Bernini and of the artists who have painted martyrs. Here are a great many heresies in a few lines ; but I shall leave them, that I may not deprive the orthodox of the pleasure of pronouncing my condemnation.

The consideration of the finest statues in the Vatican by torchlight has a peculiar interest and peculiar advantages. Night, the surrounding scene, the half-lighted distant figures, those standing out prominently in the full light, works illumined from various sides, present to the eye unknown phenomena, and excite the mind to new feelings. Some gain, others lose, by this ordeal. Notwithstanding the gratification of being permitted to witness it through the kindness of —, I could not help thinking that it bore the same relation to the broad daylight as our lamps, scenery, and theatrical economy to the perfect plays, or the plays representing the perfect, acted by the Greeks in the day-time. Niobe and her children would bear the broad daylight upon a darker back-ground ; they would

need no æsthetic screen from sunshine or light. It is not merely the pure love of art, but also a certain *piquant* refinement that dictates this expedient of torchlight.

I do not set up for a puritanical moralist, but yet I could not divest myself of an idea of a different kind. Our manners and customs, perhaps too an original, inextinguishable feeling of modesty, command the covering of the naked. Art has very properly not submitted unconditionally to this practice, or pretended to find modesty and chastity essentially in apparel. But it is certainly not consistent if ladies draw in their feet, lest one should see instep and ankle, if they consider it indecent merely to mention hips and loins in their presence, and then go and cause a whole host of naked men to be lighted above and below and in the middle, before and behind, and every thing to be explained by the young gentlemen who accompany them with æsthetic phrases and exclamations.

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### LETTER LXXVIII.

Rome—Illumination of St. Peter's—Fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo.

Rome, June 30th.

PEOPLE say very frequently (with or without just ground), I fancied that such or such a thing was

much grander and more splendid ! The illumination of St. Peter's on the 28th, and the fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo on the 29th, far surpass all expectations, are unique in their kind, and are alone worth a journey to Rome. Beyond this testimony one cannot give any description of these visual wonders, for it would fall infinitely short of the spectacle and convey no adequate idea of it. What I am about to add in a few dry words aims not, therefore, by any means at the impossible.

There were illuminated, 1, in double rows of lamps, the upper margin of the great colonnade on both sides of St. Peter's ; 2, the capitals of all the pillars of the façade of the church, the architrave, all the windows, and that portion which rises above the architrave ; 3, the small cupolas ; 4, the great cupola up to the cross. The illumination itself is composed of two parts: in the first place, it consists of an infinite multitude of lamps which stand behind light paper screens, a contrivance that gives to the softened light an astonishing, nay, a magic effect. Then with astonishing rapidity appear every where blazing torches, a burst from the gentle piano to the splendour of the most victorious fortissimo. All the defects of the façade disappear amidst this double illumination, and the cupola displays its majesty and magnitude in a wonderful manner. I saw it from St. Peter's Place, from the bridge of St. An-



gelo, and from Monte Pincio, and at all these distances the effect was grand, exquisite, incomparable.

I had concluded, and not without reason that, compared with this light, the fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo must be but insignificant, and yet they are neither less astonishing nor less unique in their kind. I obtained an excellent place, directly opposite, close to the river. At a given signal there appeared in rapid succession a series of the most diverse and most brilliant phenomena ; so that all the fireworks I have ever seen were but trumpery in comparison with them. Gigantic sheaves of rockets, crackers, fireballs, serpents, in all directions ; wheels, stars, figures, and movements of the most various kinds, cataracts formed of torrents of fire, &c. Presently, from amidst all this, sprang forth a spacious gothic cathedral (reminding you of that of Orvieto), composed by enchantment of fire of all colours ; next, perfect night and silence ; new signs, new wonders ! In short, with these two Roman *fêtes* no others are to be compared.

What took place in St. Peter's itself was like what I had seen in the Lateran : ecclesiastics and soldiers, church music and military music, pope, cardinals, bishops, &c. A dragoon entangled himself in such a manner with his spurs in the robe of a bishop, that they could scarcely extricate themselves—an emblem of the confusion between church

and state. At one place I was told by a soldier that I must not go any further, on account of my great-coat. At the same moment a couple of dogs dashed past us into the sanctum sanctorum. It is true they had only close coats on. In the lower church, richly furnished with historical and artistical monuments, I tarried on this occasion but for a short time, doubly fearful of taking cold and of *malaria* before my departure.

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### LETTER LXXIX.

States of the Church—Government and People—Schools—Universities.

Rome, June 20th.

You know that it has never been my intention to collect something complete on the present state of Italy, and to write a systematic book, but merely to furnish supplementary information wherever there appeared to me to be gaps, and when favourable circumstances placed authentic particulars in my hands. Least of all, need there any efforts of mine where others have already exhausted a subject on which all that I could say would be but unsatisfactory. Thus, for instance, in regard to the State of the Church, a work now in the press, entitled “Roman Letters,” is likely to fulfil every wish; for which reason I shall touch only on some points,

rather for the purpose of making them clear to myself than to others.

In the first place, I hear immoderate praise and frequently immoderate censure bestowed on the present government, in regard not only to temporal but also spiritual matters. The total separation of the one from the other is then proposed as a remedy. Indeed these two sides have so essential an influence upon each other that, from the adoption of this proposal, something quite new—better or worse—must arise.

Supposing that such a complete separation were to take place, and that the Ecclesiastical State were to become a temporal dukedom, the greatest loss might accrue on other sides from such a measure; and, in the first place, Rome would be transformed from the capital of the Catholic world into the capital of a mere duchy. In a spiritual respect, the change so strongly recommended must have still worse consequences; the pope, now independent, would certainly fall into oppressive dependence on some Catholic power, and the times of the Avignon and Napoleon captivity would return. The Protestant plan, which would set aside the pope altogether, I leave quite out of the question, and reserve to myself the right of perhaps expressing hereafter my unassuming opinion concerning the connexion of church and state.

This, however, is the proper place for noticing another assertion which has been frequently advanced, namely, that, in the States of the Church, people and government form the most glaring contrast; that the former is beyond measure excellent, the latter beyond measure wretched. In particular moments such a contrast may present itself by means of highly distinguished or highly condemnable persons: the preponderance of the better or the worse may fall to the one side or the other for longer periods. Upon the whole, however, the government and the people are in constant mutual connexion; and, as the comparative anatomist deduces from individual parts the structure of the whole animal and knows what it is, so can the statesman draw conclusions about the people from the government and the laws, and about the government from the manners and customs of the people. To me it appears that the praiseworthy and the censurable in the States of the Church are rather to be attributed to this connexion and this re-action than to be inconsiderately denied. The pre-supposition that only the defective, the unenlightened, the interested, &c. push upward out of the masses and attain to the government, while the pure gold is left lying at the bottom — this pre-supposition of many pseudo-liberals appears to me as full of prejudice and error as the opposite notion of many hyper-aristocrats,

that the true law of nature and nations permits them to walk about at pleasure on the heads of the corrupt masses that stand beneath them.

But I shall quit this ground of general considerations, to communicate to you to-day some extracts from the legislation of Leo XII. concerning schools and universities. In the preamble to the great bull of August, 1824, Cardinal Bertazzoli points out certain erroneous tendencies of purely material science, and remarks on the necessity for making moral education go hand in hand with intellectual cultivation. Quite right. In the middle ages, Rome ruled the Christian world so long as she stood at the head of moral and intellectual cultivation. In the 16th century the latter could not prevent the dissevering of Christendom, because, though there might be art and science, yet piety and virtue were no longer to be found in Rome. There only where a renewed, an enlightened, union of these interests takes place is the soil upon which future generations will deem it a duty and a happiness to settle.

The principal provisions of that law are the following:—A congregation is founded for superintending all matters relating to public instruction. In the Ecclesiastical State there shall be two chief universities (Rome and Bologna), each having at least 38 professorships, and six universities of secondary rank, at Ferrara, Perugia, Camerino, Ma-

cerata, Fermo, and Urbino, each with at least 17 professors' chairs. At the head of the first two there is an arch-chancellor, at the head of the others a chancellor. In Rome it is the cardinal-cammerlinga, in Bologna the archbishop, in the other towns the archbishop or bishop. They attend to the enforcement of all laws, exercise judicial authority, award punishments (in concert with the rector or other persons) up to a year's imprisonment, preside at the election of professors and the conferring of academical degrees.

Every university has a rector, who keeps an eye not only on the behaviour of the students, but also on that of the professors, and observes whether the latter perform their duties. Each of the four faculties of a chief university must have twelve, and of each minor university, six to eight professors. No professor can be removed but for the most weighty cause (*gravissima causa*), and only on the decision of the congregation, which judges of the matter. The faculties have the right of choosing their dean, instituting examinations, conferring academic honours, proposing persons for professorships, expressing their opinion, advising any measure that appears beneficial to the university and the students, and to the arts and sciences.

For the appointment to professorships a competition (*concorso*) takes place, as well as a written

and oral examination of the candidates. In voting by ballot, the chancellor and some of the persons belonging to the town magistracy have a vote. In regard to theological appointments, which are supplied by certain orders, an examination of a different kind takes place. Men already enjoying an acknowledged literary reputation are not subject to canvassing and examination. No elected professor can be deprived of his post without just cause and sentence.

Every professor takes for the groundwork of his lectures a printed sketch approved by the congregation. He is at liberty to dictate his further explanations. Most of the lectures must be held in Latin. In every faculty there must be a supernumerary professor, to deliver lectures for any colleague who may happen to be ill or prevented by other causes.

Books are never lent out of the libraries ; neither are prohibited books ever supplied without higher permission.

The bishops and magistrates, after previous consultation, submit their proposals to the congregation respecting the number and kind of the town-schools. The appointments are offered to competition, the examination takes place in the presence of the town-council, and the candidate who has most votes is presented to the bishop for confirmation.

In order to matriculation, a student must afford proof of certain attainments. One who has been expelled cannot be admitted into any other papal university. Such as do not regularly attend mass, and perform other religious duties, are neither furnished with testimonials, nor are the academical degrees of bachelor, licentiate, or doctor conferred upon them. The rights of the different universities in regard to the conferring of degrees are not exactly alike. Every professor, schoolmaster, doctor, must subscribe to the profession of faith of Pius IV. A candidate for a doctor's degree must have been four years at the university, and at each university several honorary doctors are nominated annually from among the students. They are subject to the prescribed examinations, but not to the usual fees. These amount for the bachelor's and licentiate's degree to 10 scudi, and for the doctor's 40.

All the students are annually examined in this way : each professor condenses the main points of his lectures into not fewer than fifteen themes, one of which is drawn by lot, and must be composed and written out in the space of four hours. At the two principal universities, the vacation lasts from the 27th of June to the 5th of November, in those of the second class from the 20th of July to



the 5th of November, exclusively of many festival times and saints' days.

The gymnasiums of the bishops and orders are not subject to the general regulations. All schools of mutual instruction are suppressed. No person is allowed to set up a school without permission obtained in most cases from the bishops. This permission must be governed principally by the result of a previous examination. All pupils without exception must participate in the prescribed religious instruction. The authorities determine the highest and lowest rate to be demanded for schooling. All instruction commences and closes with prayer and religious exercises. Every teacher is required to show moderation and mildness, and it is only in extreme cases that he is allowed to strike the palm of the hand with a cord without knots.

The lectures which a student must attend preparatory to the doctor's degree are partly specified in such general terms, (for instance, *S. Theologia*, *S. Scriptura*,) that one cannot thence form any precise idea of their nature and extent; but I subjoin the somewhat more particular requisitions in regard to philology. The candidate for the doctor's degree must have heard, in the first year, rhetoric and poetry, ancient history, Roman antiquities; in the second year, the Roman classics,

Grecian and Roman history, Grecian antiquities ; in the third year, Italian classics, modern history, Egyptian and other antiquities.

I shall make no comments on this system of education, as I have already taken occasion fully to explain my sentiments on such matters, but shall merely propound the question, whether, at the time of the disturbances in Bologna, in 1831, it would not have been much more judicious to have immediately taken serious steps for imparting solid historico-political instruction than to have shut up the universities for two years, and left the restless and excited students to themselves.

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### LETTER LXXX.

States of the Church—Cultivation—Population—Poor.

Rome, June 22nd.

IF it is impossible to raise Venice by artificial means to her ancient greatness, this is still more out of the power of man in regard to Rome, and the government must not be blamed for it without ceremony. On the contrary, almost every pope has made it a point of duty and honour to do something of consequence for the restoration and embellishment of Rome. The environs, the Campagna, prove still more intractable than the city ; and while some individuals extol the beauties and

the poetry of this desert, I discover in it only the inexorable Nemesis, and the judgment which punished the conquerors, the holders of slaves and *latifundia*, the voluptuaries, beyond the fourth generation, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*.

Absence of the proprietors, self-interest of farmers and overseers, poverty and disease of the labourers; no social moral bond, no community, no settlement, no attachment to the soil, no participation in prosperity, no succour in adversity—how totally different must numberless things be, before any resurrection from this grave would appear possible! The Campagna, however, is not, thank God, the whole Ecclesiastical State, but only a small portion of it.

If this State numbered, in the year 1800, 2,400,000 inhabitants, in 1829, 2,679,000, and in 1833, 2,728,000, this shows at least an external improvement. The population of Rome, amounting in 1795 to 164,000 persons, and which had sunk in 1813 to 117,000, has now risen to 153,000. Among these there are 5,273 ecclesiastics, monks, nuns, and seminarists; that is to say, one ecclesiastical person, or in the ordinary sense of the term, one non-producer to 29. It is asserted that there are in the State of the Church 1824 convents of monks and 612 of nuns. In the space of five years, from 1829 to 1833, 3840 children were exposed in Rome; of these, I am told, 2941, or 72 per cent.,

died. They are said to occasion a yearly expense of 50,000 scudi. For the schools, in addition to their own revenue of 8,800 scudi, the government allots 4,400.

Rome superabounds in charitable institutions, for the aged, the sick, widows, orphans, beggars, prisoners, poor at their own homes, &c. The pope dispenses annually 22,000 scudi in alms; on the day of his coronation alone, 2,400 are distributed. Out of 1,400 young women who marry in Rome in the course of the year, 1,100 are supplied with a certain sum, which formerly cost the state 60,000 but now 32,000 scudi. To this the lotto contributes 5,300 scudi.

All these donations have increased rather than extinguished poverty and beggary, and Morichini has luminously explained the causes of these phenomena. He declares himself, with good reason, against beggary and idleness, and recommends the employment of the poor as the most efficient mode of relief.

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### LETTER LXXXI.

States of the Church—Administration—Municipal  
Regulations.

Rome, June 23d.

THE study of the public institutions of Venice and of modern Rome is attended with extraordinary

difficulties, because the departments of the authorities, the tribunals, &c., are not founded, any more than those of ancient Athens, on strictly scientific principles; but the great diversity was rather called forth by individual circumstances and wants, and many old superannuated regulations continued manifestly to subsist along with the vigorous ones of more recent date. Like other governments, however, the papal has of late endeavoured to introduce more unity, order, and simplicity into the course of business. In proof of this, I here communicate an extract from the important law of Pius VII., of the 6th July, 1816.

It is necessary, (so says the preamble) to approximate to a system of unity, because the discordance of the laws and usages was too great and injurious. The problem is, therefore, of a two-fold nature—in the first place to modify, and in the second, to preserve, the wise institutions of past ages.

The State of the Church is divided into 17 delegations of different importance, and each of these into several subdivisions, or districts, (*governi*). At the head of the whole government of the delegation, (with the exception of the law-department) is a cardinal, and he is assisted by two assessors. The government, moreover, selects four worthy persons, half of whom are changed every five years, and

these are to be consulted on all points of importance.

The jurisdiction of the barons is provisionally retained in some provinces, upon certain conditions, but at the same time a method is pointed out by which it may be abolished. All the judicial officers of the nobility must be confirmed by the pope, and are subject to the general laws.

In every chief town of a delegation, there is a tribunal of first instance, which also decides in appeal on certain matters that first come before the district officers. Lawsuits in matters to the amount of more than 10 scudi, in which the barons are concerned, are not decided by them, but by the nearest papal tribunal. The proceedings in the courts of first instance are public, but there is no jury. There are four courts of appeal, and a cause is at an end when two judgments have been given to the same effect. The tribunals of the Rota and Segnatura are retained, but their peculiar sphere of operation cannot be specified without prolixity. For what the French term *droit administratif* two separate instances are formed.

The pope appoints all the judges. The requisites for a judge of first instance are: moral life, the age of twenty-five years, the doctor's degree (*laureato*) and three years' legal practice. The judge of second instance must be at least thirty

years old, and have had five years' practice. New law-books are promised.

There are the like gradations in the penal courts. Sanctuaries and ecclesiastical privileges, the inquisition, and the episcopal tribunals, are retained with certain restrictions, but torture is abolished.

In every town there is a magistracy, and, in proportion to the population, a municipality of from 18 to 48 councillors or deputies of the town. The first time these are appointed by the delegate, but afterwards chosen by the councillors themselves by plurality of votes. The delegate dares not refuse his confirmation, unless for weighty reasons, and on account of legal unfitness. Two-thirds of the councillors consist of land-owners, one third of literary men, merchants, and tradesmen. Day-labourers and persons following low businesses are ineligible, but not independent farmers. Ecclesiastics having property of their own are admissible, and these take precedence of the lay-members. Where there are resident nobility, one third of the council is usually chosen from among them. Otherwise ecclesiastics and religious foundations are represented by two deputies chosen by the bishop.

The magistracy consists of a gonfaloniere, and two, four, six, (in later times from three to nine) *anziani*, (aldermen). From a triple list furnished by the councillors, the delegate selects the *anziani*,

and the cardinal-secretary of state the gonfalonieri. The latter continue two years in office ; half of the former go out annually, and are not re-eligible till two years afterwards. The proposals of the towns, after the opinion of the anziani has been given, are drawn up, discussed by the councils, transmitted with the remarks of the delegate to the proper authority, (*congregazione del buon governo*) and finally confirmed or modified. The same procedure takes place in regard to accounts.

The gonfaloniere calls meetings of the council, and presides at them. No resolution can be adopted unless two-thirds of the members are present ; neither can any resolution be carried into effect without the confirmation of the delegate and the higher authorities.

For every province, there was to be, according to the proposal of the communes, a number of provincial councillors appointed by the pope, and they were to enjoy an influence over the assessing of the taxes and the management of the accounts.

The alienation of the domains was confirmed. The restoration of suppressed churches and convents, or the compensations made to purchasers and proprietors, have cost the government prodigious sums, and are the principal causes of the wretched state of the finances.

*Fidei commissa* not yet suppressed remain in-



tact ; new ones cannot be founded unless upon certain conditions, for instance only upon immoveable property to the value of 15,000 scudi, only in four degrees, and so forth. More liberty is allowed to religious foundations.

If there are sons, the daughters can claim only a dowry, or an allowance out of the property of the father, which in general does not exceed the proportion fixed by custom. On the contrary, if the property has been derived from females, the daughters are not excluded.

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## LETTER LXXXII.

States of the Church—Finances.

Rome, June 24th.

THE legislative provisions of Pope Pius VII. in 1816, were attacked in the first place by those who regarded the re-establishment of all the old institutions as the only way of salvation ; and thus appeared under Leo XII., on the 5th of October, 1824, a new law, which alleged that many of the regulations of his predecessor had been found not to answer, promised a better judicial and administrative system, but immediately restored, or at any rate increased, the power of the clergy and the nobility. This new retrograde legislation met with stronger opposition than that which had been for

hastening forward ; and, after the disturbances in 1831 had been quelled, the great powers of Europe deemed it their duty to call the attention of the pope to the necessity of discreet modifications. These modifications the papal ordinance of the 5th of July 1831 was designed to effect ; but it has not obtained the approval of the majority, or, at least, it is found fault with as unsatisfactory.

All attempts to place the financial system on a proper footing have hitherto failed ; for, though the expences of the papal court, including the cardinals, are very moderate, the army runs away with 20, the public debt with 25, or, according to others, not less than 38 per cent. of the revenues of the state ; thus these amounted

in 1837 to about ..... 13,485,000 dollars.

the expenditure to ..... 14,730,000

leaving, of course, a deficit of 1,245,000

which must lead to the dissolution of the state, without the adoption of more efficient measures than have hitherto been pursued. Into this dilemma the government has brought itself chiefly by its solicitude to restore the ecclesiastical and monastic system of former times in its fullest extent, and to compensate for all losses sustained during the French occupation. Expensive loans scarcely alleviate the pressure for the moment ; but it cannot fail to recur, and with redoubled force.

This government has by no means entirely emancipated itself from the errors of the old custom-house laws, but still hopes to encourage the development of the internal activity that is wanting by prohibitions to import or export, or by rates of customs, which, as I am told, amount to 75 per cent. of the value, or, for instance, to 100 scudi on 100 pounds weight of cloth. Partial improvements have taken place of late, but they still leave much to be desired.

The land-tax amounts to about 75 bajocchi on the estimated produce of 100 scudi, to be paid half-yearly by the proprietors of land in the country and in towns. The regulations of the corn-trade vary. Since 1823 the export or import is prohibited, according as the home price rose above a certain standard, or sunk below it.

The taxes on consumption were not always alike in the whole State of the Church. In the walled places (*dazio consumo murato*) of the districts of Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, Ravenna, and in the city of Rome, they were paid for wine, brandy, flour, grain, pulse, cattle for slaughter, tallow, hay, straw, hides, raw or dried, building materials, and fuel. In open towns and places, (*dazio consumo fiorense*) the tolls were limited to wine, brandy, flour, and butcher's meat, and levied from the persons who dealt in those commodities. The tolls were in

general let for three years to the highest bidder. In all other districts, as well in the towns as in the country, a grinding toll is levied on every species of grain, excepting maize, rye, barley, and oats. But, if these sorts are mixed with others liable to toll, the tax must be paid. It amounts to 76 bajocchi  $\frac{1}{4}$  quattrini per *rubbio* of 640 pounds. This toll also is generally farmed out. The law contains particular directions for millers, farmers, and persons carrying corn to the mill to be ground, and for checking, ticketing, time, informations, punishments, confiscations, &c. All grinding at home, in whatever manner it may be effected, is strictly forbidden.

Salt, tobacco, alum, vitriol, and playing cards, are considered as belonging to the government. The salt is partly purchased abroad, partly supplied by the salt-works at Corneto, Ostia, Cervia, and Comacchio. The cultivation of tobacco is allowed only in certain places, and under certain restrictions. All the leaves must be offered to the government at three different prices, and none but such as are rejected can be exported. The alum is chiefly procured from the rich pits of la Tolfa, the vitriol near Ferentino and Valle Gambara, in the district of Viterbo. A game at cards costs for private houses three, in public places six bajocchi. The fees for the judicial attestation of private matters

are from 20 bajocchi to 2 scudi, those on mortgages one per thousand. For the transfer of property, or a life-interest in it, by inheritance, gift, &c. brothers pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., religious foundations 2 per cent., relations in the second degree 3, in the third degree 4, in the fourth degree 5, and more distant relations and strangers 6 per cent. The mischievous lottery produces the state an iniquitous revenue of more than a million and a half of dollars per annum.

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### LETTER LXXXIII. •

Journey to Naples—Campagna di Roma—Ruins—Pick-pockets in Naples.

Naples, July 3d.

THUS far Heaven has brought me safe and sound ; how, I will relate to you as briefly as possible. On the 30th of June, I took leave of M. von B——, went to see the pictures in Maria Aracœli, and then drove to the Sistina once more to admire Michael Angelo's epic. Dined at Count L——'s, where an interesting political conversation took place. Walked on Monte Pincio with —— ; then, in his company, to the mausoleum of Augustus, which has been restored or rebuilt into an arena. Around it seats, above them boxes, below, in the centre, the stage, this time for fireworks ;

very beautiful, though not equal to those at the Castle of St. Angelo.

At midnight left Rome with M. von H—— and the courier H. Müller, passing the Colosseum and the Lateran to the Campagna, which looked in the moonlight more desolate, dreary, and solitary than usual. In the morning, at Albano, the thermometer indicated only 11° (57° F.), did not rise above 20° (77° F.), and in the night, near Naples, I felt chilly in spite of my great coat and cloak. The Pontine marshes, without our seeing any marshes; every where rich meadows, fine crops, a long shady road, bordered with lofty trees, running through them, and having by its side a canal flowing rapidly enough. The complexion of individuals, it is true, proved that the bad character of these parts is not undeserved. Near Terracina commences the new world of Southern Italy: pomegranates, oranges, aloes in flower, fantastically situated places like Fondi and Itri, all in the new light, to which, however, beggary furnishes the usual shade. From the Garigliano to St. Agatha, the richest cultivation of various kinds: arable land, meadows, abundance of trees, the glistening river winding among them, and three-fourths of the circle of vision bounded by swelling and sinking hills, crowned by houses, hamlets, churches, and towers. Still further off the mountains of the Abruzzos, rising one above

another in every diversity of lines and masses. At first, everything lighted by the sun, then presenting itself in every degree of coloured darkness, till the earth disappeared, and the star-bespangled firmament attracted the eye and changed the train of thought. About two in the morning we reached Naples.

I have had again to listen, as I did twenty-two years ago, to panegyrics on the exquisite beauty, comprehending within itself every possible charm of the Campagna di Roma. This superstition is preserved (like many another) intact at Rome, and a man does not imagine himself to be *à la hauteur* till he has worked himself up into a belief of it. The Villa Borghese, the Villa Albani, and the like, no more belong to the Campagna than Albano and Tivoli. What now is a wilderness extending on all sides, a *zona deserta*, was at first rich woodland, then admirably cultivated arable and meadow land, comprising villages, country-houses, villas, and magnificent gardens. If the present aspect is the most beautiful and not to be surpassed, the states just described must have been the less attractive, which, in truth, involves an absurdity. If the negative can in this manner outdo the positive, then is a woman handsomest when she is no longer handsome. If I am not mistaken, there is a passage in Strabo, on the situation of Rome, which agrees

much better with my notion than with that of those too easily inspired disciples of art. They may reply that with me predominates the merely financial point of view, which neither knows nor can comprehend anything of beauty. But let us set aside whatever may be imagined, and confine ourselves to what is to be seen : here are neither trees nor shrubs, neither buildings, nor man, nor water, &c., consequently it is and must be no more than the negative beauty of the desert. Driven thus into a corner, my adversaries lay particular stress on the lines of hills beyond, and the individual ruins within, the Campagna. But those hills do not even belong to the Campagna, and the beauty of a back-ground may well bear to be separated from the ugliness of the fore-ground. Besides, there are many finer and more diversified lines of hills : as those near the Garigliano and Velino, near Naples and Taormini, near Salzburg and Gemünd, in South Wales, in the Pyrenees, &c.

Lastly, as for the ruins, they have their picturesque and (like all recollections) their attraction. People have, however, carried their admiration to the length of morbid refinement, according to which things swept away, stricken, and deformed by age and sin, calamity and misery, are to be preferred to that which still flourishes in vigorous health. But the import, the tragic idea, ought not



alone to predominate in these regions; and to see the works of Phidias in all their splendour in the glorious days of Athens, was a very different thing from spelling them in the British Museum in scanty relics. Numberless such instances might be adduced. That the artist can select particular points from the Campagna, and frame and hold them forth to deserved admiration, I pretend not to deny; but, beside these framed scenes, the greater space remains dreary and desolate. Whoever disputes this may fix his abode between Rome and Civita Vecchia, and secure for life the enjoyment of the charms of nature. Such a one I should think more to be pitied than envied.

An ancient proverb says that Naples and the environs are a paradise inhabited by devils. The truth of the first part of this adage is generally admitted, at least more generally than that paradise exists in the Campagna di Roma; the latter half, on the other hand, is disputed by the Neapolitans. Were I to sit in judgment, I should be obliged to censure, nay, to condemn much: but, as the devil's advocate, I would strive to prove that the Neapolitans were created before the invention of the fuss about the four cardinal virtues. These then we ought not to require of them, but to measure them by a totally different standard, which at last may be as correct, and bring them quite as far as the

pedantically moral, to the authority of which, every where out of paradise, people have been silly enough to bow. Of what use is valour to those who have raised themselves to the higher point of love of peace? of what use is wisdom, when the essential ends of life may be attained with a *dulce desipere in loco*? Temperance again is only extolled there, where starvation is the order of the day, and what the world calls justice consists essentially in nothing more than upholding the unjust monopoly of the rich against the poor.

Agreeably to the latter notion, a Neapolitan yesterday picked my pocket of my handkerchief. I caught him, however, in the fact, and was content—not caring to punish him myself any more than to call in the aid of the police—with giving him an eloquent lecture relative to those cardinal virtues. As a proof, however, that such sophistries cannot invalidate an original Neapolitan right, or induce any free inhabitant of paradise to submit to a silly legislation of more recent date, the same fellow actually stole the same handkerchief five minutes afterwards, and made off with it so precipitately, that I was not able to enforce the usual doctrine concerning property. An ultra-montane cry of “Stop thief!” would only have drawn upon the foreign crowd the ridicule of the birds of paradise.

## LETTER LXXXIV.

**Naples—Beautiful Situation—The Exhibition—Music—  
Ride to Virgil's Grotto—Alfieri.**

**Naples, July 7th.**

You will perhaps imagine that, from the beautiful Naples, I must be able to write the most copious and the most interesting letters: but this is not the case for many reasons: in the first place, because the very enjoyment of that beauty costs much time, and it cannot indeed be described, or at least not conjured up by words for the hearer or reader. When I rise, about five in the morning, and step out on my balcony, the sun is already above the heights on the left of Vesuvius, and lighting up the Molo as well as the curving shore of St. Lucia. The now tranquil volcano, on the other hand, with its two heads of nearly equal height, is still enveloped in dark shade; before it, the rippling dark blue sea, above, the light azure sky, lastly, to the right of Vesuvius, the coast of Castellamare, Vico, and Sorrento, as far as the promontory of Massa. After I have refreshed and invigorated myself with this view, heat and light are shut out as much as possible, but the cool sea-

breeze is admitted. About eleven, the sun is already to the right, and my balcony, as well as St. Lucia, is in the shade. But now the coast, which is dark during the forenoon, is gradually flooded with the sun's rays. The white houses of the above-mentioned places appear distinctly on the horizon, above them the land clothed with verdure, and at Vesuvius, this contrasts sharply with the dark head of the mountain. The sun sinks by degrees, and that radiance which was poured forth upon sky, and earth, and sea, is succeeded by the play of colours, through every shade of red, green, and blue, till the stars, piercing through the dark mantle of night, bring this succession of beauties to a satisfactory close. On particular days, however, clouds piled upon clouds enveloped even what lies near to you. Amid thunder and lightning, and the echo of all the hills, torrents of rain descended, till the curtain became more and more transparent, and the wide magic circle was again unveiled in renovated beauty to the spectator. Of oppressive heat as yet no symptom; the air lighter and more refreshing than in Rome, and no desert Campagna, no disciples of art, to compose melancholico-critical dissertations on the enjoyment of victorious natural beauties. The people, ever gay, ever humorous, even in poverty, are a perfectly appropriate accessory that disposes me also to cheerfulness; while in Rome, ecclesiastics and monks, together with all the ruins, only

serve to confirm and to render more conspicuous the grave contrast of the times.

You perceive from all this that I am not inclined to follow the adage, See Naples and die. Much more justly might one say, See Rome and die; because in the former every thing challenges you to live, while in the latter every thing reminds you of death. In Naples, too, admirable provision is made for the most material life, from green peas and oranges, through sea-fish and oysters, to wines. Whoever makes the tour of Italy for pleasure should hasten to arrive here; indeed, the judgment and suitableness of the plan of mine are confirmed more and more every day. If I could but return in the fine autumn to Germany, my cup of pleasure would be full almost to overflowing. But those who maliciously or enviously suppose that I am giving myself up here to Capuan or Sybarite indulgences, shall for their punishment read some day what I have here been collecting and committing to paper concerning Joseph and Murat, soldiers and taxes, *cabotaggio* and *caricatojo*, &c.

On the 4th I was admitted, through M. K——'s interest, to the exhibition, already closed to the public. How far is Art here behind Nature! Excepting two or three landscapes, some shepherds' boys, and a few other pictures, most of them were so indifferent, and many even so bad, that with us they would have been rejected. As the situation

of Berlin is to Naples, so is the state of art here to that of Germany.

Ever since four in the morning (on the 6th) the guns have been firing from the ships and the bastions, in honour of the birthday of the queen dowager, who has lately married again. Every ship decorated with streamers of all colours; St. Carlo brilliantly lighted up; Rossini's Othello; Pixis nimbly galloping to and fro; nothing else worth mentioning.

I was told to-day by a seaman, that the Neapolitans are so inordinately fond of peace, that they hate the military profession, and are angry with the king, who amuses himself with it; moreover, that the Neapolitans would long since have starved but for foreigners; that these not only supply them with bread but also with flesh, because the provider of a good-natured girl always receives half of the sum that is paid. I suffered all this to go in at one ear and out at the other, confining myself to that objectively which is required of an observer. Not so my informant. In remarking on one of his stories, he said, "The man was old, and had gray hair, like you!" This *argumentum ad hominem* displeased me, and I shall take care another time to select a seaman who pays more respect to age because he is old himself.

Sunday the 7th.—The Countess Lebzeltern had kindly offered to play to me on the piano-forte.

That will be no great treat, you may perhaps think. You are wrong: the countess plays not only with great fluency, (which now-a-days is but too common a qualification,) but with infinitely more feeling and taste than the gentry who exhibit their talents so confidently throughout Europe. I can assure you with truth that she has not merely fingers but a heart. On this subject I recollected that the Capell-meister Fux once said to the emperor Leopold, "What a pity your majesty was not bred a musician!" He replied, "I am rather better off as it is." A composition of the countess's had in it more of profound feeling and expression than all T——'s fantasias.

Dined again to-day at the City of Rome. The cameriere placed a table for two Englishmen on the best spot in the balcony, commanding the magnificent view; but they preferred a back room, where they saw no more of the marvels of Naples than if they had dined in Nova Zembla. The cameriere shook his head, for which I gave him a few additional grani for himself. In travelling, one may play the great man on seasonable occasions at a very small expence. When I have changed a louis d'or, and have my pockets full of silver and copper, I fancy myself richer than before; but find that, as far as Naples, my former experience is confirmed, that one needs and spends twice as much money here as in Rome. The enjoyment of the

present is not to be had so cheaply at Naples as the grave past which is served up in Rome as the principal dish, and swallowed dry. In travelling, a decided purpose, a decided predilection, is almost always manifested; science, art, society; in Naples, on the contrary, it seems quite sufficient to be there, and to indulge in all the pleasures that present themselves. How long this way of life will please and last, I shall soon learn from experience, and not conceal from you. As an allopathic preservative against mental vacuity, several heaps of books are lying before me.

If any where, it can be said in Naples, "The true beggar only is the true king." This, however, is, one half of it, a mere phrase. With much greater, much more profound truth, it may be asserted that the true mendicant monk alone is the true king. The mere having nothing is but a mere negation, and helps no further; the deliberate renunciation stands higher; but when the *sustine* is associated with the *abstine*, the resignation is nothing more than a stoic *pis aller*. It is the *right* (not the common and justly censured) view and conviction of the mendicant monk which transforms that negation into an affirmation, and the greatest and noblest riches of *being* then manifest themselves when the *having* ceases to claim the faculties and to interfere with their efforts. But how have I fallen upon this Roman reflexion in Naples? Per-



haps in order to find the *just milieu*, the proper equilibrium. But this is forced upon me from another side. Or, are there no spots, no shades, in this Neapolitan sea of light? To him who passes rapidly over, it appears wondrously brilliant. But if only one-half of the complaints made in this short time to me by Neapolitans, concerning the defects, failings, and crimes, in their country, and especially concerning the system of government, is true, then indeed would I rather be fixed for life amidst the widest of the sandy plains of Brandenburg.

Whether one gets accustomed to minor evils, or gradually finds them less intolerable, I cannot tell; for instance, that, in spite of daily hunts, one cannot extirpate the game; that the noise in the street never ceases the whole night long, but that every four and two-legged ass fancies he has a right to bray to his heart's content. I mention these things merely that those who stay at home may not envy the traveller too much, or lest any one should say that I paint without shades.

July 11th.—The sun is just rising to the left of Vesuvius, and tinging sky, earth, and sea—an orama unique in its kind. After the flood of light has for some minutes shown every thing sharply defined and in the utmost distinctness, its warmth calls forth light vapours, which rest like a coloured veil upon the landscape, and so temper the heat and light, that the eye can feast itself on the view

so much the longer without being dazzled. One gladly listens to the assertion that there is no occasion to travel far from Naples into the surrounding country, as this part after all is the richest and the most beautiful.

I have several times taken a ride in the evening by Castell Uovo, through the Chiaja, to the grotto of Virgil, near Nisita. In comparison with this enjoyment of nature, all the collections of art appear paltry and unsatisfactory. They are shut up in houses and halls, with windows and doors—here is the dark blue sea, bearing upon its bosom the whole varied landscape, with the lighter sky for its roof. Naples, Vesuvius, the coast of Massa and Capri, form the back-ground on the other side: while the fore-ground, as viewed from the road, is of a two-fold kind. On the one side, namely, the hills rise, and on the other they sink to the sea, here cut perpendicularly, there gently undulating, or having deep clefts. At one place, the unlevelled rock, with its natural curved lines, forms the foundation of the houses, at another it has been levelled, at a third heightened by masonry, at a fourth excavated, and the dwellings built in it. Among the numberless houses, not one stands upon the same level with the other, but, from the margin of the sea to the top of the hill, there they are, facing every point of the compass, each differing from the rest, without rule, law, or fixed proportion for doors, windows,

stairs, roofs, piazzas, and decorations—all peculiar, individual, romantic, grotesque, arbitrary, surprising—all varied; and all attracting attention! Nothing waste, bare, withered, stunted—everywhere the most luxuriant vegetation—trees, shrubs, vines, pomegranates, oleanders, oranges, and single palms. The great bay of the sea cut out and rounded into many smaller ones; and every curve, every point of these bays adorned with buildings such as I have already described; houses, loggias, lofts, staircases, balconies, and plantations. Such is the road by which you at length reach the new cut through the ridge of the hill, which separates the bay of Naples from that on the other side, and, the moment this is passed, a new and equally beautiful world bursts upon the spectator—the heights of the Camaldulenses, Puzzuoli, Bajæ, Ischia, Procida, Nisita, and the promontory of Misenum.

You will think it natural that these sunrises and sunsets, these beauties of sky, earth, and sea, should attract me in preference; and that I should concern myself but little about companies and *soirées*. Literary employment and that *dolce far niente* fill up satisfactorily the circle of wants and pleasures. Still I do see men every day, and from them gain information on points on which I have to treat, not in fragments, but connectedly. I fall (in spite of my contrary purpose,) owing to urgent occasions, into descriptions of nature which are repetitions: the

same would be the case, only such repetitions would be more tedious, were I to write down every conversation, or to characterize every speaker. Besides, I am obliged to read and refer to a great number of books, pamphlets, tracts, &c. Thus one day passes comfortably and yet busily, after another, and the thought of home intervenes by no means to disturb but to tranquillize and cheer.

July 12th.—The editors of *Il Progresso*, a respectable journal, commenced eight years ago, mostly members of the *Accademia pontaniana*, meet once a week to confer and consult together. I attended one of these meetings the day before yesterday, desirous to make the acquaintance of men of considerable attainments, and I have been already favoured with their literary assistance. With M. Bl—, a clever writer on military subjects and political economy, (who is particularly attentive to me,) I got into conversation about Alfieri. His opinion of the latter as a dramatic writer coincided unexpectedly with mine, and he asserted that Alfieri had in reality acquired influence and consequence at first as a political pamphleteer, since he ventured to say upon the stage what could not well have been put forth through any other channel. This excitement and effect, he observed, were now past, and Alfieri is now considered only as a dramatist, in which character his merit sinks the lower inasmuch as in truth he *alone* speaks in all his plays. I find

myself supported in this heresy also, that the Neapolitans of preceding ages, such as Thomas of Aquino, Bruno, and Campanella, stood much higher and were greater geniuses than those of the immoderately lauded 18th century, Vico, Filangieri, Gonnovesi. It is a pity that with such mental powers and activity as the literary men of Naples display, science, government, and people, produce only a dissonant chord, and it is difficult to say how it is to be resolved into harmony. That on this point the government is not wholly blameless I shall endeavour to prove elsewhere.

I cannot feast myself enough on the beauties of the way to Puzzuoli, which I have already noticed. On emerging yesterday from the cut in the hill into the world beyond it, the deep glow of evening already tinged hills and isles, and the small crescent moon peeped out of it like an eye which, dazzled by the brilliance, dares not open entirely. From the sea rose, not pestilential effluvia, as in the Roman Campagna, but light vapours, which benignly seek and refresh every lovely point of the coast. So yesterday evening and this morning at sunrise the continuation—

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## LETTER LXXXV.

Naples—Political Ideas—Music.

Naples, July 18th.

IN the morning I frequently form plans as to what persons I will call upon, what churches and works of art I will go to see, after I have finished work. But the moment I set foot out of doors, these plans are forgotten; I turn, not to the left towards the city, but to the right, to the Villa reale, get into a carriage, and drive along the oft-praised road to Puzzuoli and Nisita. *Dolce far niente*, but I repeat, after I have finished work.

I take particular care not to get involved here in general political conversations, because it is most instructive for me to make myself acquainted with Neapolitan matters; but then it falls within the sphere of my inquiries to ascertain the sentiments of the Neapolitans on the subject of a general political system. They seem still to lay more stress than other Italians on certain French doctrines, for instance on that of the political contract. I cheerfully agreed yesterday with persons of this way of thinking that hereby a formal element of right is recognised, and civil society raised above the position of mere force and power; but asserted that with this the end was not wholly accomplished in regard to the state any more than in regard to

marriage. One desired me to give him a general rule, by which all injustice and all error in state and politics may be infallibly prevented. If I could do that, I replied, I should have discovered the political universal medicine, though, by the by, I do not believe there is such a thing. On this point there was no doubt that right, morality, religion, ought to have a regulating influence; but on this point I observed how little it avails to stop short here at the abstract, because it is not till the application to the living individuality that the struggle commences.

A gentleman was speaking to-day of the great Italian school of music. I wished also to show that it was not wholly strange to me, when he extolled Rossini's *Tell* as a masterpiece of grand old music. I perceived that old and grand were relative ideas, and contented myself with putting in a note from time to time by way of *ripieno*.

#### LETTER LXXXVI.

Naples—Libraries—Literary men—Excursion to Sorrento

Naples, July 28th.

I got yesterday into a long conversation with the librarians on the lending, or not lending, of books. One of them highly extolled the latter course for all the well known reasons, especially

because formerly books were sometimes stolen; our method of proceeding was wrong, and so forth. Who knows whether German librarians might not be glad to chime in with these notions, if laws and custom were to favour their convenience! I could not help remarking that at any rate one thing was better with us, namely, that nobody thought of stealing books. An *argumentum ad hominem* I left untouched. I was told that in a library in this city where no books are lent out, and to which no stranger is admitted, the books stand apparently undisturbed and uninjured on the shelves. I say *apparently*; for skilful apatomists have dissected many of them, taken out and sold the insides, and left nothing but the hog-skin backs behind.

Political grumbling at the course of public affairs thrives here most luxuriantly, and the government takes care that it shall not want the necessary manure. This bitterness, however, seems to be sweetened again by self-complacency. But this last I say only to cloak my ignorance, because I am not acquainted with many of the greatest and first-rate men, who in the discharge of Italian superlative are fired off against other nations. The expression now, thank God, fallen into disuse among us, our Rabeners, our Ramlers, our Gleims, our Klopstocks, &c. is here daily played off, and sold at full value; and if perchance a Frenchman or an Englishman, (very rarely a German) has



the honour done him to be sent before as *virgillum* or *enfant perdu*, the Italians, or rather Neapolitans, invariably follow, as the deciding main army. It is a fine thing to have forefathers who gained and deserved many laurels, but a still finer to be a *novus homo* or a *nova natio* and plant laurels, than stuff pillows with old laurel leaves, or prefer ruins to every new building. He only acquires who perceives and knows that there is much which he has not, nay, cannot have. In this way alone is to be found the proper living career; whereas he who has, or fancies that he has, reached the goal, goes no further. But what has all this to do with my journal?

On the 19th (Friday) when you probably received my first letter from Naples of the 5th, I dined at M. von K—'s, and he took me to the Floridiana, a villa in a beautiful situation near the Belvedere, belonging to the widow of King Ferdinand. More extensive plans were concerted for the next days.

On the 20th, about ten o'clock, I meant to start with the steam-vessel for Sorrento, under the protection of the ever-obliging M. von K—. Punctuality, however, is not the order of the day here in many things, and steam-vessels among the rest. As we did not choose to wait till two o'clock, we took a boat, and, having a favourable wind, speedily reached the beautiful opposite shore, and went up

into the Cucumella, the balconies and upper rooms of which command an admirable view of the richly cultivated vale of Sorrento, the sea, and Vesuvius. This tract, the peninsula between Sorrento and Amalfi, presents so many exquisite prospects, so many variations of the grand theme of sky and earth, land and sea, plants and stones, that one might certainly feast upon them for weeks, and still find in them something new and attractive. We (that is to say, M. von K—, his sister G— the painter, his wife, and I) did as much as it was possible to do in two days—and with the aid of asses and mules a great deal was possible. But these indispensable brutes constituted the dark side of the undertaking, and not I alone, but many are unlucky with them.—After dinner, then, we rode to the *Punta di Sorrento*, hills covered on both sides with wood, till we gained an extensive view of Capri and the sea rolling beneath us.

On the 21st, Sunday, the thermometer stood, at six in the morning in the sun at 36° (113° F.)—a fearful height. But as we were screened sometimes by walls, at others by trees, and I asked permission to take off coat and stock, in case of emergency put up my umbrella, and a refreshing breeze blew the greatest part of the time, the heat was not so intolerable as one supposes or apprehends. All these favourable conditions, however, would not be sufficient to render the trip from Berlin to Potsdam

tolerable, in that temperature. The uninterrupted series of grand and beautiful scenes animated body and soul, and afforded a delight that caused every inconvenience to be forgotten.

In the forenoon, we ascended a height which commands a view over both bays, those of Naples and Salerno. I recognised the islands of the Syrens, which I had once seen in a dangerous storm, and admired the singularly shaped promontories piled one upon another, the dark bays, the bright sea, the steep declivities, the richly planted gentler slopes, and the *arco naturale*, a prodigious, arched rock, through which you perceive the azure sea.

In the afternoon to what is called the *deserto*, a very lofty peak, which opens a boundless view over St. Costanza, Capri, Campanella, Massa, &c.

Monday morning, the 22nd, upwards through the vale of Arola, by way of change, of almost precisely German character. Somewhat like the country about Schwarzburg, and if there was no running water, yet the mountains were loftier, and among the German trees (elms, oaks, poplars, limes) appeared myrtles and olives. Then to what was formerly a convent of Camaldulenses, whence we overlooked at the same time the beautiful declivities of Vico and Sorrento and Monte Chiaro by which they are separated. Beyond these the sea, Vesuvius, and the distant coast of Naples. In the afternoon, by steam-vessel, along the coast to Cas-

stellamare; then passed Vesuvius; the most beautiful sunset; arrived in brilliant moonshine on the coast of Naples sparkling with thousands of lights.

To the numberless causes and signs of beauty there is superadded in those parts a peculiar one, rare even in Italy, namely the extraordinarily rich and diversified vegetation, and the careful cultivation which it receives from great numbers of persons who have settled there. Nevertheless, were I possessed with the Roman mania, I should say! Burn the trees and shrubs, pull down the houses, let the people perish, and you will then have a faint likeness of the Campagna di Roma. To be quite equal to that Vesuvius must disappear, the sea be dried up, the wholesome brown of the human complexion be changed into the sickly yellow of foreign day-labourers, &c.

What I here give you is not even a sketch or a complete index, much less the coloured album of the visible; but inflated phrases would not afford a better idea of the objects, and besides I do not keep those goods in my shop. A gentleman said that the steam-vessel was so beautiful, so picturesque, so enchanting, that he shed tears because he could not shew it to a lady of his acquaintance!

On Sunday, a festival in honour of the Virgin was held at Sorrento, with lamps and all sorts of fireworks. A great number of people, and still greater noise, otherwise nothing peculiar or worth

notice. Whether the country produces more garlic or oranges it would be difficult to decide. I saw here (perhaps for the first time in my life) a drunken Italian, and the two-legged ass trod upon my toes as the four-legged one did a few days ago on my breast.

For the first time too during this excursion an Italian was dissatisfied with what I paid him. This man, who lived close by, demanded more, because he had come a great way to shave me. I replied that I had come much further to be shaved, (though not in a figurative sense) but that I would shave him for half as much, if he liked. The fellow stared at me, pocketed the money, and went about his business. With firmness, civility, and pleasantry, you may do much more in Italy than with abuse and airs of consequence.

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### LETTER LXXXVII.

Naples — Nature and Society, here and hereafter — Calabria and the Calabrese — Admission to the Archives of the Vatican refused.

Naples, July 25th.

MY life here is very simple, and at the same time extremely diversified. The literary labours, which are the principal object of my journey, touch upon so many subjects, opens so many points of view, and make me acquainted with so many sensible and

stupid measures and opinions, that simplicity and diversity are the natural results. The same remark applies to the beauties of nature and the treasures of art.

Yesterday, I took a ride along that to me inevitable road to Nisita and Puzzuoli. I felt disposed to find fault with the hitherto undisturbed serenity of the blue sky as being too monotonous, when, on looking around, I beheld a new spectacle. Beside Vesuvius, a gigantic castle was built of black clouds, and decorated with prodigious golden pinnacles. Above it was spread a vast, white, glistening canopy, which the moon, by its side, had richly encompassed with silver radiance. Above these floated small clouds of all sorts of colours, according as they were turned more to the sun or to the moon. At the other end of the new cut through the hill, the most glowing sunset beyond Bajæ and Puzzuoli; the islands lighter or darker in proportion to their distance, opposite to the placid blue sea — a sea of verdure extending to the Camaldulenses and the Vomero. On the return the castle gone, and only a faint red tinge in the west — the silver moon reigning in majesty over sky and sea.

Can you wonder that, after such delicious entertainments given by bountiful nature, I should take little interest in a *soirée*, at which I should have to exchange complimentary phrases and to decipher the Neapolitan dialect! How much more con-

venient to sit in the verandah in the grand costume of a *lazzarohi*, to go to bed belated, and be up before sunrise. In England, beautiful women and distinguished men throng to the courts, which it is true, are annoying enough, but here people appear like mere accessories or supplements to nature. And

It is said that in the next world men will meet again; shall we meet with nature again, or what will become of it? The idea of a migration through all the worlds has been very often propounded, but it has its difficulties. Why, as the eternity that awaits one is of such prodigious length, be in such haste to be removed into a new class, before one has duly learned one's task here? In that world one may—so much I can well imagine—associate with Plato and Aristotle, with Alexander the Great and Charlemagne, but will those heroes choose to associate with me, as they lose in the same proportion that I gain? Nay, it is not always convenient for myself to appear in grand *parure*, and to be obliged to look down at things. Besides, I am a great deal too much attached to friends and acquaintance who wear a great coat like myself, to exchange them for that superfine *prima sorte* of universal history. If, on the contrary, I am again to meet all the persons of both sexes who have wearied me already upon earth, and to sing Hosanna *unisono* with them the whole live-long day, that prospect is, if any thing, still more frightful. The whole division of

heaven, purgatory, and hell, separates, to be sure, boxes, pits, paradise, and so forth; but I should almost rather solicit a place out of the whole *dizain* comedie. Here I am getting again into harness whips I have once before played off in Dresden; but, at any rate, I had rather live in Naples with Don Dante than in a desert island with him.

As particular nations have their own burial-places on earth, have they their peculiar places of resurrection in the other world? In this case the Babylonian separation continues; in the reverse, a scarcely conceivable intermixture ensues. Upon what principles?—the number of heads, intellectual superiority, order of time? But, a fool may ask more questions on this subject than all the wise men put together can answer. A Calabrese of distinction, with whom I was conversing yesterday about the people of his country, was also totally at a loss how to mix them with other tribes. "Calabria," said he, "is a country absolutely unique in its kind, incomprehensible. Enclosed by two seas, having in the middle a lofty range of mountains, covered for several months in the year with deep snow, no roads or communications between the two divisions, all the trees and productions of the north and of the south, ice and tropical heat at the distance of a few leagues. For hundreds, nay, for thousands of years a culture of a higher, nay, even of a profoundly philosophical,



kind, which in certain circles subsists undiminished to the present day, and at the same time a population rude in the extreme."—"If this rudeness," I remarked, "consists only in this, that the people have not learned to read and write, they have probably received other estimable qualities from an originally bountiful Nature." He replied: "It is not only the rudeness of ignorance, but likewise ferocity of character, which, for instance, perpetuates a bloodthirsty enmity in full force from generation to generation, and regards revenge as a right and a duty."—"This worse than heathen disposition," I rejoined, "must be, if not extirpated, at least softened, by education and by the influence of the nobility and persons of note, who are probably absentees."—"In Calabria it is much more common," he continued, "for people of rank and wealth to reside upon their estates than in any other part of Italy; but they live wholly apart from the people, and have no influence over them. They compose two entirely distinct worlds. I myself, when at Naples, contemplate with horror this ferocity of my countrymen, a barbarism that is not to be found in a like degree in Europe; and again, when I reside for a considerable time in Calabria, kindred tones vibrate in my own mind, and strengthen alike the charge and the excuse."

Naples, July 26th.

YESTERDAY evening I duly received your kind letters of the 11th, and at the same time one from Rome, from —, confirming what I have long foreseen, namely, that the archives will not be opened to me. The principal passage in the letter runs thus: "With a truly heavy heart, I take up the pen to communicate the not unexpected but not for that reason the less painful intelligence that, under present circumstances, the opening of the archives of the Vatican in behalf of your historical inquiries is not to be expected. Things may after some time take a better form, but unfortunately it is customary to draw particulars concerning persons from sources the origin of which is impure. Count — shares this view and my regret.

This text is important enough to admit of a few comments. For some years past the papal government has relinquished the system of more liberal communication adopted by Cardinal Consalvi, and returned to the old seclusion and exclusion. Whether the misunderstanding with Prussia has moreover had any share in the above determination of the court of Rome, I shall not pretend to decide, any more than whether the condemnation of my work originates with —, or with the man who —, or with Madame de —. The court of Rome is certainly unjust in classing persons of my sentiments among dangerous or hostile opponents,

and to reckon upon all Protestants painting (like H——) white upon white. I can assert without presumption that my work has operated with more effect and more benefit to produce right and just notions of church and popes in the middle ages than many a publication by over-zealous watchmen of Zion.

The Roman court is not itself capable of appreciating the historical sources of those times ; it has too little confidence in its interest and its right, otherwise it would make no secret of those documents, but print and circulate them all over the world. They are, it is true, succeeded by persons and deeds of darker shades. But even there the keeping secret is of no avail ; for though the world knows the worst, yet, on account of this very secrecy, it imagines that there is something still worse behind ; whereas the whole truth explains matters in which there frequently lies, if not a justification, at least an excuse. Besides, the boasted consistency of the court of Rome is not kept up in granting to me in 1817 (when I could adduce nothing in my behalf but my goodwill) what is now refused me, though three illustrious Catholic personages have furnished me with favourable testimonials—the prince-royal (and also the king) of B——, Prince John of S——, and Prince M——. The Great Unknown, be it he or she, has more weight than these men and that which they represent. A sort

of the theological *camarilla*! Of one thing I am sure, namely, that this refusal will not cause me to say one word more or more harsh against the court of Rome than a feeling of duty and truth would otherwise have suggested. *Sine ira et studio* be in future my motto, as it has been hitherto.

I must now wait to see whether —, as the Protestant Cerberus, will continue to play the Parricid I have already told you why I believe that those sources contain little that is really serviceable for my Hohenstaufen, and that all the main points may be left without alteration. I have done all I could, and wash my hands in innocence.

And, after politely giving precedence to politico-historical considerations, I pass to personal matters and the interests of my tour, nothing more agreeable could befall me than this refusal. It carries me away from musty papers into the living present; it raises me to the rank of a baron; it admits of my return in the finest season of the year, and accelerates my wished-for return home, after seeing and learning so much.

Besides, I shall save money by it, and that deserves some consideration, because my journey is not performed at the expense of government, as many have been pleased to say and even to publish, that must be paid for entirely out of my own pocket. But I am very thankful that I was never refused leave of absence, and that sufficient confi-

dence is placed in me to induce a belief that I shall conscientiously employ the leisure which has been granted.

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### LETTER LXXXVIII.

Naples—Summer—Prostitution—Excursion to Ischia.

Naples, July 27th.

I AM this year enjoying, for the first time in my life, a real summer ; for oppressively sultry days, alternating with thunder-storms and cooler ones, are but a substitute for, or a resemblance of, genuine summer. For the latter are required a long equable temperature, a serene sky, a light respirable atmosphere, notwithstanding the heat. You ask, if I do not find the middle of the day too hot. Most certainly. But why should I shrink from this sun-bath, or deem it more inconvenient or more dangerous than the oft-extolled Russian vapour-baths? Thus far it agrees perfectly well with me, though I shall come back brown and spare as an Arab. For one is obliged to observe temperance and moderation in an equal degree in regard both to mind and body ; and the stomach here requires more time to digest little than a great deal with us. But what one spares in eating and wine is spent in ice and lemonade, and the money for the theatre goes for coach-hire. Or

shall I shut myself up by lamplight, or perhaps even amidst the perfume of garlic, while heaven, earth, and sea, out of doors are performing pieces of a totally different kind?—or listen, out of patriotism, to translated Kotzebueades, or, out of respect for the Italian, to the declamation of the husky Federici?

Drove out again yesterday to Nisita, that road of inexhaustible beauty. A sunset beyond the bay of Bajæ could not have been more beautiful, more brilliant, more splendidly coloured; and to all those lights of heaven, the earth furnishes her deeper tones, the grave fundamental bass — I had rightly calculated the time for returning. Between Castellamare and the hill of St. Angelo, the full moon rose slowly and majestically. Not only were the rays of light flung over the sea, but the vibrations of the organ of the spheres by which old Haydn seemed to prescribe measure and track to the moon fell upon my ear.

I play you nothing but variations of one and the same theme, but what else can I do? In a few weeks I shall be far away from this south, and then I will put a different barrel into my organ. The dissonances which you perhaps miss in these letters you will find by and by plentiful enough in a longer article on Neapolitan affairs.

For very many years, I have not dealt boxes on the ear, but to-day I have dispensed a truly sound

one, namely to a boy, who thrust his hand into my coat-pocket. He concluded from appearances that it contained something worth his while, but found only a large roll of paper—the money was gone to pay for my passage by the steam-vessel. Some days ago, I was well nigh involved in an affair of a more serious kind. As I was going home in the evening, in the most sober and quiet way, two females suddenly turned upon me and bawled at me in the most startling manner. I understood not a syllable of their Neapolitan *prestissimo*; till a man interfered as *tertius interveniens*, and intimated that he was a champion of the innocence, of which I, Don Juan, would fain have robbed the damsels. Now, as I had neither accosted nor even seen the said damsels, and consequently had complete innocence on my side, I was not to be bullied, and told them that they could not be in their senses, that I was no *minchione*, and that, if they pleased, we would go to the police to settle the matter. Before I had finished speaking, ladies and champion had scampered off different ways. On the following day, a similar trick was attempted on M. von——, probably by the same swindlers of both sexes.

The police has succeeded in clearing the streets of prostitutes. With so much the greater impudence do the pimps, the *ruffiani*, offer their goods, selling a pig in a poke, and cheating buyers and sellers as much as they can. This male interven-

tion, which is almost unknown in other countries, has in it something excessively disgusting, and, as dealing at second-hand in human flesh, is equally repulsive to morality and good taste. Foundling hospitals, street-beggary, and pimps, nevertheless, find alike defenders, at least as minor evils. To me, on the other hand, they appear to be the greater.

July 29th.

Yesterday was a hot but yet a pleasant day. Early in the morning I set out in the steam-vessel, *La Furia*, for Ischia, and returned in the evening. We coasted, of course, along the beautiful bay of Naples, to Nisita, then passed the bay of Bajæ, with the prospect of Puzzuoli, Monte Nuovo, and Bajæ, left Cape Misenum on one side, to the road of Procida (where passengers are landed and taken on board) lastly were set ashore near Casamiciola in Ischia, and ascended the hill to the tavern of *La Sentinella*. The noontide hours were intensely hot in the narrow roads of Ischia, but the many exquisite views of the carefully cultivated island, and its summit, the *Epomeo*, as also of the distant islands and coasts, afford some compensation. The cooler return and its conclusion by moonlight proved the more agreeable.

On the outward passage, I heard a lady speaking German and accosted her. She was a Swiss woman of prodigious size, who had been settled for many years in Rome, but was not at all satisfied



with the Germans there. She declared that, in fact, nothing but hatred and envy prevailed among them, and that not a trace of the boasted qualities of their nation was to be perceived.

When the men belonging to the steamer laid hold of her in the usual way, and would have carried her out of the boat to the shore, she plied her fists so vigorously, that (though these fellows are in general able to put up with a great deal) they almost lost their temper. They were obliged, therefore, to bring an ass close to the gunwale of the boat; she turned her huge rotundity outwards, and, untouched by male hands, clapped herself down in the appropriate saddle of her sex. Some other ladies chose rather to trust themselves to the arms of the men than to an ass, and thus picturesque groups of a different kind were formed.

July 30th.

I learn from daily experience that the most needful quality of a traveller is not to wish to see everything, otherwise he lives in constant uneasiness, and does not accomplish his purpose at last. A forced resignation, however, very often takes the place of this wise and calm content. Thus, to-day, Professor W——, from Rome, who proposed to call for me at four in the morning to go with him to Pompeji, was left in the lurch by the man who was to drive us thither, and it is doubtful whether better luck awaits us to-morrow.

It admits of a question which affords most pleasure, to plan travels, or to travel. The former preliminary business costs no efforts, no money, presents much more variety and change. On the other hand, a hundred possibilities do not make a reality. Again, it is not to be denied that many a one learns more from serious preparations for a journey, than many travellers who have actually been whirled along, breathed foreign air, eaten foreign bread, and slept in foreign beds.

I hope that the heat of Brandenburg agrees as well with you as that of Naples does with me. You will be killed by the heat in Sicily, say some. You will be killed by robbers, cry others. In the former event, the latter cannot take place, and *vice versa*. I have no fear of either of these dangers, and shall only beware of the slow and tedious riding upon asses in the sunshine. Palermo, Messina, Catanea, a bit of Etna, perhaps somewhat of Syracuse—*basta per me*. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, nor should one affect enthusiasm for things which lie out of one's own line.

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### LETTER LXXXIX.

Naples—The Studj—Pompeji.

Naples, August 3rd. (the king's birthday).

At present only a few particulars of my daily history. On the 29th of July, M. T— introduced me to Mazzetti, Archbishop of Seleucia, who is at

the head of a commission of instruction, and has with great courage set his face against many useless things. His general plan of instruction contains much that is good and well-meant ; but, as he is for altering the present system in almost all its parts, and rarely adopts any portion of it, he cannot fail to meet with insurmountable obstacles. Gradual development has in general accomplished more than what is termed total regeneration. There is much in this plan, too, that to me is unaccountable ; that, for instance, all real knowledge must be acquired at the lyceums, but the positive excluded from the universities. In the latter, of course, no history, but only a sort of philosophy of history, &c., so that, upon the whole, the merely general, (often only abstract,) is considered as the more important. But you may some day read all this yourself in his work, if you please.

On the 30th to the Studj. The naked men stand about everywhere for inspection ; the naked women are shut up in a separate room. Scarcely one solid reason can be assigned for this regulation, though it might furnish occasion for abundance of pleasantries. In that room, then, there are ten Venuses, seven *à la Venus Medicis*, two sitting, and the one looking behind her. Hence, it appears that certain master-pieces have been imitated numberless times by inferior artists, and that there were very few real originals. The seven above-

mentioned are in part ugly portrait-statues of women who ought to cover themselves, and only one resembles that of the Capitol. The *καλλιπύγη* is, in fact, not a Venus, but only a very handsome female, who is proud of the beauty of her sitting part, and at the same time, perhaps, is striving to catch a flea.

On the 31st, with W—— and two painters, to Pompeji, another hot, but supportable, and instructive day, in shirt sleeves, and with umbrella. Once more I transported myself into the mode of life of those times when people cared but little about the streets, and when the colonnade around a public place was more important than the house. The paintings here, and those which have been removed to Naples, have perhaps been overrated by some; certainly there are wretched and tasteless things among them. They nevertheless attest a love for the art, extraordinary practice, and a lively conception. In no modern provincial town would so much that is remarkable have been found, and then again, that which has been found cannot be taken as the standard for antique painting. The painters who wrought at Pompeji bear much the same proportion to Zeuxis and Apelles as Pompeji does to Athens and Corinth. The mosaic representing Alexander and Darius is certainly copied from some other work, and there is perhaps nothing more perfect in this kind, but yet objections might be made to particular points, from the car or the

wheel of it to the head of Alexander, if my periodical on the arts had not been dropped for want of encouragement.

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### LETTER XC.

Passage to Palermo—Flora—Santa Maria di Gesu—Duke of Serradifalco—Monreale.

Palermo, August 6th.

ABOUT ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 4th of August, I set out from Naples, arrived here at eight in the morning, on the 5th, and took up my quarters at M. Giacquieri's. The passage was favourable, and without any volcanic eruptions, but I was rather unwell in consequence of the tremulous motion of the Marie Christine. It affects the nerves, so that I went about the whole day on *terra firma*, as though it had not been *firm*. At daybreak, I went to the head of the vessel, that I might see without obstruction the coast of Sicily rising out of the sea. A great diversity of fantastic *lines*, (as the Romans say) of hills and mountains—beautiful colours—but mostly bare and treeless. Palermo situated in the plain, three-fourths of the circle encompassed by hills, one-fourth open towards the sea; on the left, Monte Pellegrino, with the chapel of St. Rosalia. The city has not the appearance of a thriving place, and, besides the two main streets intersecting one another, few worthy of mention. The promenade along the sea is fine, but simple and

insignificant in comparison with the drive from the Chiaja to Puzzuoli; and the horses and the carriages too are surpassed by the Neapolitan. The Flora, so highly spoken of, is a regularly laid out, level, enclosed garden, adorned with the more southern plants of these countries, but without any prospect. Instead of the nymphs, elves, and dryads, that I hoped to find here yesterday evening, there were only ecclesiastics and monks, walking up and down in all colours, black, half-black, speckled, white, brown. If there are really sixty-seven convents in the city, and among them, many of mendicant friars, it is but natural that one should see as many monks here, as soldiers with us. Palermo has, undoubtedly, a fine situation, but to prefer it to that of Naples argues, in my opinion, a faulty taste or exaggerated patriotism.

August 7th.

As the post and letters will not go off till morning, I shall add a few words. The day before yesterday, the first of my abode here, I ran about during the heat of the day with a lacquey (indispensable on this occasion) through the whole city, and in the evening went, as I have already mentioned, to the promenade and the Flora. This, however, was a quiet day in comparison with yesterday. I rose at four in the morning, for the purpose of driving out before the heat commenced, with M. W——, the very kind Prussian consul, and his

brother, to the Capuchin convent of Santa Maria di Gesu. The aloe, the cactus, or Indian fig, and some other southern plants which were associated with the vine, the olive, the orange, and the cypress, showed that I had almost arrived at the end of my journey. Some steep chalk-stone walls alone were bare, but beautifully-coloured red and yellow; with these exceptions, the whole side of the hill was so covered with plants and trees, that I was anew confirmed in the conviction that the nakedness of hills is more frequently owing to the fault and neglect of man, than a necessary consequence of natural defects. The feeling and taste of the monks in the selection of a site for their convent were shown here as in so many other places. It commands an extensive and beautiful view over Palermo and Monreale, as far as the range of hills that lie behind the Pellegrino and the sea. On my return from this excursion, I set out on a second with the lacquey, made some instructive acquaintances, missed other persons, and found others again in bed at eleven o'clock. I conceived that people here rose early, slept a good deal in the day-time, and went to bed late. On the latter point alone I was right: they sleep but little in the day, and to early rising they are utter strangers. The bustle in the streets, too, commences much earlier in Naples than here.

• A half decayed fresco painting by Monreale in a

convent was wonderfully fresh and beautiful: other martyrdoms of his which I afterwards saw were far less attractive, and had even become much darker. Five or six churches, modern, gaudy, not worthy of mention. So much the more characteristic Roger's chapel in the castle, more Latin than Grecian in form, but just like St. Mark's at Venice in mosaic-work and style.

The Duke of Serradifalco, (upon whom I called a second time, and who had likewise missed me) received me in the most cordial manner. His offer to take me in his carriage to Monreale was the more welcome as he has published an admirable work on the church there, and is consequently by far the best guide. The church itself is a most remarkable structure: the part of it that was burned is mostly rebuilt, and exactly in the former style. To a church in the form of a Greek cross is annexed a sort of basilica. Above the pillars and arches, the walls entirely covered with mosaic, as in Venice. Among other things, King William is represented as being crowned by Christ, to indicate that he did not receive his crown from the pope. I abstain from further description. You will see from the work of the Duke of Serradifalco how much was done in this country in the department of the arts so early as the end of the twelfth century.

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## LETTER XCI.

Palermo—Temperature—Portrait of Frederick Barbarossa—  
Library—Antiquities—University—Ball—Cathedral—  
Lunatic Hospital—Mendicants' Asylum.

Palermo, August 8th.

I shall continue my simple reports. The thunderstorm of the day before yesterday was followed yesterday, contrary to the expectation of the Palermitans with whom I conversed, by another of greater violence, so that the atmosphere is much cooled, the thermometer at six o'clock this morning indicating only  $17^{\circ}$  ( $70^{\circ}$  F.) and at noon  $23^{\circ}$  ( $84^{\circ}$  F.). Many insist that, with the exception of the sirocco days, which are described as being very oppressive, the heat here is not so great as in Naples, and I must agree with them as far as my experience goes. Possibly, however, a storm may have produced the same effect in Naples; and that assertion would hardly hold good in regard to the average temperature of the whole year. People here are in general disposed to assign a lower degree to the local heat, just as they do in the north to the cold, because both, viewed from different points, are considered as evils. *Ne quid nimis!*

Yesterday M. A — G —, a respectable Sicilian scholar, fetched me, in the first place to show me a portrait of the Emperor Frederick II., which he had had copied from a picture in San Martino. He

considered it as genuine, a good likeness, and well executed. In this opinion I could not coincide; nay, I was disgusted with the face, which seemed by no means to represent a man of superior understanding and noble mind, but rather a clownish fellow. The wish to see something ideal, something beautiful, was certainly not a sufficient ground for denying the genuineness of the picture. But my feeling was supported by other reasons. In the first place, the portrait was not at all in the style of the thirteenth century. M. G—— remarked that the reputed original in San Martino was probably of the seventeenth century. In this case, then, we should have but the copy of a modern copy, which exhibits not the least trace of the adoption and imitation of an older form and style. In the second place, the picture bears no resemblance to the genuine Augustals, nor to my ring engraved after the contemporary statue of Frederick II. at Capua. On the other hand, the Augustals and the ring agree in all the essentials, and must decide as to Frederick's face, and the rejection of that picture.

On another point, too, my opinion differed from G——'s. He maintains that a lamentation of Peter de Vineia from his prison is genuine, and was composed by himself. To me, on the contrary, it appears to be the bungling performance of some later divine; for, in the first place, it manifests none of

Peter's previous energy ; and in the second, it contains nothing but phrases, *verba prætereaque nihil*, without the slightest reference to facts and personal circumstances. In the third place, it appears to me to be for the most part an amplification and dilution of the well-known passage in Dante, which the later author must, as I conceive, have had before his eyes. Granting, however, that this lamentation is genuine, we learn from it nothing for history.

M. G—— then took me to the library, where I had occasion to make the important remark that literature here covers its nakedness more commonly with hog-skin, as it does among us with calf-skin. I looked with due devotion at some manuscripts of laws and chronicles, and rejoiced most disinterestedly that their contents were destined for the literary labourer of later ages, or have already been submitted in print to the world. The library and its revenues have arisen in part from the donations of the liberal. It seems to be well-arranged and much frequented. The lending of books is, of course, out of the question.

The abbate M—— then took me to the architectural remains and sculptures, mostly brought hither from Selinus. The latter show the progress of development from extreme rudeness to a high degree of perfection. It was a novelty to me to see face, hands, and feet of white marble attached to stone statues of female figures. Here, too, we

plainly perceive that the application of colours to sculptures was by no means rejected by the ancients, but frequently approved and adopted.

Now for the university, in the buildings of which are deposited a collection of partly valuable paintings, and another of plaster casts. A programme of the lectures is not printed (any more than with us for the schools) because the limited subjects usually remain unchanged. In the forenoon are generally held two lectures of an hour and a half each, but in the afternoon only one. I shall not repeat remarks already made on the Italian universities. Those who accompanied me related that the theological faculty (or the fragment that may be so called) is placed below that of the law. The salary of the professors is, with few exceptions, very low, mostly 240 dollars per annum.

I dined yesterday and passed a very agreeable afternoon with M. W—— the consul, and went in the evening to a ball at the Duke of ——'s. Luckily, I had not left shoes and stockings and the other articles belonging to an old man's costume behind in Naples. The arrangements of the ball deserved praise in every respect. The inner court, a large hall, the principal entrance to the garden, tastefully illuminated with lamps, the saloons and apartments spacious, and likewise brilliantly lighted with wax-candles, works of art of various kinds dispersed here and there, cooling beverages and ice in super-

abundance, a well-furnished table beyond the illuminated hall, good music, &c. The gentlemen in general in black coats, white waistcoats, and breeches; the ladies dressed as they now are every where in Europe; waltzes and country-dances. Some of the ladies, married and single, very handsome, many insignificant: in stature rather short and stout, than tall and spare. The Duchess of Berry, too, much stouter than formerly, whether from grief and sorrow, or some other cause, I cannot tell.

August 8th, evening.

After I had worked hard and written the foregoing to you, I rode with Prince G—— to the lunatic hospital, the mendicants' asylum, the Zisa, the ancient palace of the Saracens, and the tombs of the emperors in the cathedral. Very different—but the frail and perishable nature of what is human apparent in all. Of the porphyry coffins, that of Frederick II. exhibits the finest workmanship; and how pitiful, that, at a subsequent period, for the sake of economy, another royal corpse, that of a king of Aragon, was laid along with him in the narrow space, to share it peaceably with him till the last day. Of the original Arabian forms and decorations of the Zisa scarcely a vestige is left, what with repairs, alterations, and decay. The view, uninterrupted on all sides, from the centre of the plain of Palermo, is, on the other hand, ever young and ever beautiful.

Of idiots and maniacs, there is here, owing to the same causes as in every other country, one third more men than women, few raving, many gentle enough, more rarely deprived of reason by drunkenness than in the north. Every thing cleanly, orderly; treatment mild; the institution improved, or rather created anew, by the Baron Pisani. Force employed only in cases of extreme emergency; patience in the highest degree; rather psychological and moral than any other means; never ridicule or excitements to anger.

The suppression of mendicity in Palermo, with the exception of the begging monks and very few others, deserves the greatest praise, and distinguishes this city from most of the towns of Italy. For the reception of beggars, male and female, boys and girls, separate houses are established or divisions made. They are universally commended for order, honesty, cleanliness, industry, and excellent management of the funds, and as far as those things can be perceived or inferred from inspection, I must award this praise to the girl's house, the only one that I have seen. When, however, I started some objections of a different kind, a sub-inspector, though a native of Germany, told me, his half countryman, that I knew nothing at all about the matter and never should be any the wiser. I thought it not more advisable to quarrel with this very irritable man, than to believe him on his word. For the

question was not about local knowledge but general principles, which are the same all the world over ; for instance, if, when more persons go into a house than out of it, the number within increases or decreases; whether 100 is more than 20, or less, &c. The point namely is this : The beggars, or (let us confine ourselves to the girls) the beggar-girls, are taken up and then in general sent to that house. If they have no parents, they may be considered as orphans, and the institution as an orphan-house. On putting further questions, I learned that, into this institution, which has subsisted only a few years, many more are continually admitted than are discharged from it, so that the number is gradually on the increase. And this must be the case, for the grounds of admission are endless, and no term is fixed for abode in the house. Thus there is no specific time by way of punishment, or as the period necessary for education, nor a certain age, nor majority, &c. Every year very few obtain by lot a small dowry, for the sake of which they are sought in marriage ; but departures of this or any other kind are rare in comparison with the admissions, and in this way the institution for children will gradually come to comprehend females of every sex up to very old maids.

I will not repeat what might be urged against giving dowries to girls out of public funds in general : certainly marriages contracted merely for the

sake of such a gift rest on a bad foundation, and are a natural nursery of future want. If I consider reception into a house of this kind as a punishment for beggary, this punishment ought to have measure and limit ; if I consider it as a charity, then neither can this (as, for instance, the orphan-houses prove) extend to the whole life ; but the greatest mistake of all is the notion that the government and a few benevolent overseers can and ought to be the guardians and task-masters of innumerable paupers, because there is a want of work. The individual ought rather to be set on his own legs, and that should be allotted to him and to families, which these great barracks for education and expensive playthings of the manufacturing system never can supply. Without limitation of admission, without a fixed time for discharge, the number will, as I have observed, increase prodigiously ; and as the expenses cannot be provided for, the old system of begging will be revived on a larger scale than ever. The well-meant institution is transformed into a sort of foundling hospital for children of greater age. Thus much in vindication of my scruples, which, as I afterwards found, by no means all the Palermitans regard as stupid ; many, on the contrary, participate in them, nay, the city already begins to oppose further considerable payments. Heaven forbid that, for want of a particular destination, the praiseworthy object should miscarry, and the ancient evil return !



## CHAPTER XCII.

Palermo — Monte Pellegrino — St. Rosalia — The Observatory and Botanical Garden — Evening Party.

Palermo, August 10th.

YESTERDAY I was up before light, mounted a donkey which the very obliging Duke of Serradifalco had sent me, and rode out of the city over the plain to Monte Pellegrino, which suddenly rose like an island before me. The road leads in a zig-zag, and partly on under-ground arches, up to the chapel of St. Rosalia. Here I alighted and ascended by a difficult and unfrequented path to a peak, which commands an extensive prospect of the nearest mountains, the sea which lies beneath, the city and plain of Palermo, and the more distant ranges of hills of various forms. The immediate environs, on the other hand, reminded me of Radicofani; only the desert is more extensive and wilder, and in order not to be behindhand with the crude forms and pointed crags of rock that every where protrude, the vegetable kingdom has taken possession of every handful of mould, and thrown out innumerable (but at this moment dry) thistles. In such a wilderness lies the grotto to which St. Rosalia retreated.

I will not throw doubts in Palermo upon what the Palermitans believe. The mythology of many

christian saints rests on no better foundation than the mythology of pagan heroes. Instead, however, of applying on this occasion the cold, critical knife, and cutting off and flinging away the best of the legend, I could not help thinking that the Palermitans show an honourable feeling of gratitude, and the praiseworthy disposition, which is gradually becoming more rare, to recognize in the deification of a particular person something higher above them. The saint, dressed in cloth of gold, is represented reclining, with one hand supporting her head, and the other lying upon her breast, and holding crucifix and pilgrim's staff. On looking through the bars into the farther half-lighted part of the cavern, it is only by degrees that the eye discerns outline and features, so that many circumstances concur to produce a strong and peculiar impression. I was reminded involuntarily, but most decidedly, of Guilelmo della Porta's wonderful female in St. Peter's. There, the highest splendour of earthly beauty; and from the energy of her own bosom bursts forth all the poetry of bold passions; here, the forms of the face have remained, but, instead of an innate energy forcing its way out, a profounder peace is infused into the soul, and the joys and griefs of this life seem to lie far behind, after the regeneration for another world, heightening and softening mortal beauty, has taken place.

The heat was very great. I descended the moun-

tain on foot, enjoyed the prospects which every turn of the way presented, and purposed after this exertion to rest for a few hours, or at least to give the reins to my thoughts. It was decreed, however, that I should employ my limited time more conscientiously. The principe G—— took me with him to the Observatory, where I made the acquaintance of M. Cacciatore, and had an extensive view over the city and environs. The beautifully-situated botanical garden has many southern plants growing in the open air, but it has been found necessary to erect a hothouse also for tropical vegetables.

At ten in the evening, I was fetched by —— to a brilliant party at ——, where there was a great deal of dancing to a Vienna piano-forte. I could have imagined myself in Berlin, Vienna, London, &c., so little of any thing peculiar to Sicily was there to be perceived. I looked about sharply after handsome ladies; but here you must seek in order rarely to find; whereas in London, and in our country too, you find without seeking. About one o'clock I went home, and rose at six to give you a report of all this in a temperature of 20° (77° F).

You often imagine that, according to our proverb, you have got hold of all the ends, and yet have missed one, and in consequence all that you are carrying is spilt or broken. Thus have I fared with the plan for travelling through the interior of the island. I had been already rendered doubtful

by the unanimous declaration of all Sicilians, that in this way there was nothing whatever to be seen ; but the matter was decided by the remark of the principe S—— that I should suffer so much from the carriage that I must arrive half dead. I had not yet taken the nature of this carriage into serious consideration ; I was told that it was a close carriage, much like a post-chaise, with a back seat, so small that the four persons crammed into it could not move either hand or foot. To sit in this cramped position for one day and two nights, at this season of the year, would certainly be a most severe punishment : the only course I had left, therefore, was to have recourse to the sea. At six this evening I shall set out for Messina in the steamer *Marie Christine*.

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### LETTER XCIII.

Passage to Messina — Aspect of the City — Poverty of the Nobles of Palermo — Travelling Companions — Environs of Messina.

Messina, August 12th.

THE steamer was to start, as I was told on the 10th, at six o'clock precisely, but she did not begin to move till about half-past seven. Around me presently commenced a lamentable medley of sighs and moans and —— ; but, in spite of these ex-

amples, and though exposed to the influence of the same cause, I was not at all affected, and was able to remain on deck till late in the beautiful, warm, starry night. This I was the more inclined to do, as my birth had been assigned me in a real *inferno baratro*, under the principal cabin. I preferred lying on a small mattress in the middle of the floor of the latter, and slept better than I expected, but was on deck again by daybreak. Beyond the Lipari islands, most of which rise from the sea in the form of broad-based cones, the first tinge of dawn began to appear; before me lay Calabria, like a misty stripe; to the right, but rather more clearly defined, the north coast of Sicily. As we approached St. Agatha and Cape Orlando, the sun had already risen on the left, and I could perceive with the naked eye, and still better with my Vienna glass, that the forms of the hills, vales, and ravines, were diversified, and that the country in general had not the dry and naked aspect of that about Palermo. Brolo, Calava, Piatti, Melazzo, Rosacolmo, Faro, passed in pleasing succession before me, and the steep mountains of Calabria formed the back-ground till we entered the strait of Messina. Scylla and Charybdis showed an agitation which heightened the diversity of the play of colours in the blue sea; as to danger for a vessel of the size of our's, that was out of the question. Messina rose by degrees from the sea, backed by high hills, with a distinct

view of the Calabrian coast, which is less bold here. Very beautiful no doubt; but I must confess that all I have seen in Sicily is inferior to Naples, and only strengthens my predilection for that city and its environs. Messina produces the impression of a busy commercial place, where the *tiers état* of course has the preponderance. Palermo, on the contrary, wears the appearance of an ancient, sinking capital, where the nobility itself is on the decline, and almost all are grumbling, with or without reason. I know not whether it be true or not, but I was told by several Palermitans, that some of the *principi* who drive about there scarcely know how to find themselves a dinner, and that the jewels which they wear in company must first be redeemed with great difficulty from the pawnbroker. I am assured from various quarters that many who are wealthy and not in debt have scarcely ever seen their estates, and never attend to the management of them. Of course, observed another, because they are too fond of the conveniences of a town life to travel thither by unfrequented tracks, and to transport all they want and don't want to and fro on the backs of innumerable asses and mules.

In the steam-vessel I met with two Frenchmen, M. Malherbe, a naturalist from Metz, and a young Count du Prat, well informed and a man of correct judgment; that is to say, his opinions and mine in general coincided respecting what we had seen in our

travels. Want of accommodation brought us both into one room yesterday, and all three this evening into the same carriage together.

You, at a distance, will have much fault to find with my travelling plans and their execution ; here, however, you cannot travel as you please, but are forced to adopt this or that course. This you will perceive from the following dialogue with my intelligent host.

We wish to set off this evening or early in the morning.—Impossible, because this is Sunday, and you cannot get back your passports before noon tomorrow.—We wish to have a driver to take us to Taormina and thence to Catanea.—Impossible, for on account of the festival of Messina, there is not a driver to be got.—We wish to travel extra-post.—Impossible, as you have not your own carriage ; the post supplies none, and does not stop at Taormina.—We wish to go by steamer to Catanea.—Impossible, because the steamer does not touch at Catanea.

So we were obliged to stay six days in Messina, where we could have done all our business in six hours, or avail ourselves of the accidental extraordinary opportunity of a post-coach going off this evening to Catanea. The ordinary one has but two places ; both were engaged, and supplementary vehicles are utterly unknown here.

There came with us a French count, eighty-two

years old, attended by an already venerable chamber-maid, a perfect picture of the *ancien régime*. Powdered hair, large frill, ruffles, &c., and withal a man of extraordinary activity and extraordinary appetite. Yesterday evening he had wrapped himself in a long and handsome morning gown, but hearing goats bleating in the street, he conceived a great fancy for some new milk. He ran, therefore, to the balcony, and bawled as loud as he could, *Capre, capre!* All eyes below were instantly upon him, and loud laughter and jokes of all sorts ensued. In his hurry, the good man had stretched out his arms, his wide morning gown followed this example, and there he stood stark-naked before the venerable public in the street, shouting for goats.

This circumstance brings to my recollection another story which Prince L—— of S—— related from official accounts. A man elegantly but showily dressed, richly provided with watches and chains, hired a bathing-machine, undressed, and plunged into the sea. Meanwhile, a rogue who had watched him plunged into the sea too, got into the machine from below, put on the clothes, pocketed money and watches, and quietly went his way. The attendant admitted another into the machine, and when the latter was about to descend from it into the sea, he met the first occupant coming into it again. A violent altercation took place, till the affair was explained, and a mean dress was with



difficulty procured to enable the person who had been robbed to return to his lodgings.

Early this morning, I walked with Du Prat through all the principal streets, saw a singular medley of ancient and modern in the cathedral, and then enjoyed, from the lofty old tower, a delicious prospect of land, city, and sea. Towards the interior of the country, hills and mountains, with small intervening declivities, rise irregularly one above another; the houses, roofed entirely with tiles, exhibit none of the peculiarities of southern towns. Towards the Faro the soil is flat and sandy; the coast of Calabria is higher and steeper on the left, but declines towards Reggio; between is the Strait. All very beautiful, though I scarcely know wherein the beauty consists; by no means the romantic, fantastic impression produced by Naples. We shall get away as the festivals are beginning. What a scandal! But church festivals, and military festivals, and what are called popular festivals, are alike tedious in such repetitions; and to throw away a fortnight for the sake of enjoying six festival days would be too much for me in heaven itself. I am glad to follow the example of the Dutchman whom I saw at Trieste, and who ran away whenever he merely heard mention made of processions and festivals.

We have just been taken to the police-office. I have now three passports, one from Berlin for the

whole tour, a Neapolitan for all Sicily, and a Palermitan for half Sicily. As neither description of the person nor the signature is annexed, and no certificate is furnished on delivering up the passport, the obligation itself to run to the office is a useless annoyance.

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#### LETTER XCIV.

Journey from Messina to Catanea—Attempted Ascent of Etna—Syracuse.

Syracuse, August 17th.

O, THRICE-BLESSED Naples! take me, repentant prodigal, again to thy bosom! Never will I again suffer myself to be enticed to forsake thee, and to seek elsewhere that which thou so bountifully bestowest of far superior quality! That sounds, you will say, not like a voluntary hymn, but like the ejaculation of a discontented man, one who is out of humour. And so it really is, or at least something very like it, as the following *species facti* will more clearly show. About nine in the evening of Monday, the 10th of August, we took our places in the carriage to proceed from Messina to Catanea. The carriage was certainly large enough to permit us to stretch our legs, the horses spirited, but the roads so bad that in the first five minutes one would have been flung from an English outside. Even in the

night it was so light that we could plainly distinguish the high rocks of Taormina, and its position from bottom to top. We saw the sun rise from the beautifully situated Sciarra, and then pursued our way to Jacireale, having on one side the lofty and threatening Etna. *Siamo la doguna*, (and this word I had already heard numberless times,) said a red-nosed fellow, and he took the regular fee for not doing his duty. *Siamo la doguna*, cried three fellows a hundred paces off, and insisted that those we had just passed were not authorised to receive the dues. I lost all patience, and replied that we would pay them nothing, but they might examine as much as they pleased; and that I would inquire of the authorities if their conduct was correct. They deemed it prudent to withdraw into the shade without searching and without fee.

The unsightly desolating torrents of lava extend to Catanea. The town itself has broad, straight streets, and there are not a few considerable buildings; but the whole produces neither a cheerful nor a brilliant effect. There is something unfinished and mean throughout; but shop stands close to shop, and workshop to workshop; but in many a one are to be found only a shoemaker's awl and two pennyworth of leather, and in many another only a tailor's needle and two pennyworth of cloth. With the contents of a single shop in Oxford Street or the Strand, I would buy a whole street in Ca-

tanea. So much the greater abundance is there of ecclesiastics, monks, nuns, convents, and bells are ringing and tolling from morning till night. The people were busily preparing for the great festival, which follows that of Messina. To us, recollecting what we had seen elsewhere, these preparations appeared paltry, nay, many of them resembled the decorations of a provincial theatre.

Out of modesty or indolence, I deemed myself incapable or unworthy to ascend Etna, and this time I was nearer the mark than in my opinion on the festival. The first plan, to start after dinner, about two o'clock, and to ride up the mountain for twelve hours together, and in the night upon a mule, and then climb two hours more till sunrise—this awful plan I rejected in the most decided manner. A second proposal was then made—to set out early in the morning, so as to reach the *Casa dei Inglesi* by evening, to sleep there and to climb the rest of the way, from three to half-past four. After many objections, I suffered myself to be persuaded, and at five in the morning of the 14th of August, we—that is to say, Du Prat, Malherbe, and I—mounted horses and mules. I had represented to myself the cultivated region of the mountain as a paradise of oranges, figs, grapes, fantastic habitations, charming females, &c. This was an egregious mistake: you ascend mostly between walls, now and then getting a glimpse, sometimes of trees, at others

of lava, nothing beautiful, nothing picturesque. The woody region succeeds. Noble trunks of very ancient oaks, but despoiled of their crowns, applied, like willows, to every sort of unworthy use, and headed down. More and more of these witnesses of antiquity are annually felled, and the selfish improvident race never thinks of planting even a single tree, so that the desert at top will soon completely conquer the middle region. After the most laborious efforts, we reached the *Casa dei Inglesi*, and the question naturally was whether we were to climb to the summit on the following morning. Of course—you will say from your sofa. We came to a different conclusion. Respiration became very difficult at this height, the eyes smarted, the lips were swollen and painful, the hands purple, the face still darker, and in two days we had twice to endure a variation of  $30^{\circ}$ , that is to say, from  $5^{\circ}$  to  $35^{\circ}$  Reaumur ( $68^{\circ}$  F. from  $43^{\circ}$  to  $111^{\circ}$ .)

We prepared to lie down, but there were only two small mattresses and as many small pillows for three persons, and, instead of pulling off our clothes, we were obliged to heap all we had upon us to keep ourselves warm. The middle place fell to my share, in regard to warmth evidently the best; but I was so wedged in that I could not move either hand or foot. Then again the two mattresses and the two pillows parted from one another, so that, rousing up through sheer numbness, I found

that I was lying on the bare boards, and that two brooms, placed underneath to raise the head of the bed, were my pillow. My mouth and tongue were parched, and nothing but my last remaining lozenge afforded me some relief. Friend B—, you must know, presented me in his own name and that of his family with a box of Berlin lozenges to take with me, and these I used only on extraordinary occasions.

The last of them I had till now carefully preserved, but thought that I could not do better than resort to it in this doleful night. Sleep was out of the question, especially as the mules kept up such a trampling and stamping. At length, about midnight, our chief guide came to inform us that one of the mules could not survive the fatigue, and that he must ride away with the second, to save its life by bleeding, and if possible to procure other beasts.

On rising we were quite stiff, and unanimously of opinion that it would be better to watch the sun rise from some promontory of the mountain and to obtain a view of three-fourths of the circle, than, by climbing higher, to knock ourselves up, or at any rate increase our sufferings more than our pleasures. The summit of the mountain was moreover enveloped in clouds and afforded no promise of a view.

For the rest, I found what I have so often said about bird's-eye views, and what I had asserted the

day before, completely verified. That from Etna may, it is true, be the most extensive and the most remarkable of all; and it may justly be objected that I have seen but three-fourths of the whole prospect, and not seen the shadow of Etna either in the air or stretched over the land. But, at a greater height, objects become more indistinct and more foreshortened. You see, as behind a curtain, a lighter or a darker patch, a speck of green, or a speck of yellow, and then you are told, That speck is Catania, and that other, of the size of a sixpence, Syracuse, &c. How if we were to show a man a beautiful woman at such a distance, and then desire him to fall down and worship? If the devil ever means to tempt me, he must not show me landscapes in bird's-eye perspective and as if on a map. That the artist cannot avail himself of such views is a proof that they are not the most beautiful, and to Etna, the Brocken, the Schneekuppe, &c., I very far prefer Vesuvius, the Rigi, Salzburg, Edinburgh, Bamberg, the Camaldoli, &c. You have there, in general, something above, something else facing, and something different again below you; or you see composition, outline, colour, light, shade, much more diversified and beautiful.

Accordingly, after we had seen the sun rise like a globe of fire, without the accompaniment of splendid clouds, and had viewed Sicily through the veil of misty vapour, we went to the *Valle dei Buoi*.

Figure to yourself a Swiss valley, burnt up so that not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass, not a drop of water, not a human being, not a house, not a brute animal, is left upon it, and you will have a picture of that valley. I wrote to you about the deserts of Radicofani and Pellegrino : they are but a thimbleful in comparison with the masses of Etna. There you see at least rocks, stones, forms, colours, crystallisations ; in this kitchen of the devil, on the contrary, every thing appears shapeless and colourless. It is chaos, but not the undeveloped matter of all forms ; it is the death of all living things ; a repulsive negation of nature and of mind. Fire-worshipping naturalists may commit idolatry with these fire-vomiting mountains ; to me they appear rather as vents, by which nature strives to eject excrementitious matter. Let those who please examine it, reverence it, carry it about them, like that of the Dalai Lama ; it is no vocation of mine.

Now for the descent from the mountain. I was prepared for inconveniences, but found ten times worse than I had imagined. From weariness and exhaustion, my horse made a false step every ten paces, which was not only in the highest degree unpleasant, but likewise dangerous. I pushed forward, therefore, on foot, for some hours in the hottest part of the day, and at length flung myself down exhausted under a tree to wait for those who were behind. Here, however, I fared as I once



did with friend H—, for inordinate admiration of nature. As in the elysium of Halle, so in that of Sicily, the ants came to visit me in great numbers. Again on horseback ; 35° (112° F.) in the sun, to which I was exposed, and such pains in the sinews of the legs from incessant jolting and jarring, that I could have roared outright. Only that part of the body which usually rebels first against such tasks, and puts on the red Jacobin cap, behaved quietly, and displayed laudable firmness. Luckily, we had ordered a carriage to meet us at Nicolosi. That, on my return to Catanea, I felt no inclination to pay visits you will think perfectly natural. During the day, too, I had time to rest only a couple of hours, and after dark to sleep for the same time, for, about midnight, between the 15th and 16th of August, I was seated in a litter with Du Prat, and on the way to Syracuse. Such a litter is in reality a sedan for two persons who sit opposite to each other. One mule goes before, another behind in the shafts, and a third carries the baggage. A prodigious tinkling of bells keeps the animals lively and in step ; the sedan, however, swags so violently that many become sea-sick. We ailed nothing, and found ourselves extremely comfortable in comparison with the preceding day. But for this comparison, the dark side would have appeared a great deal darker. To be sure, one frequently sees the Mediterranean and Etna, and both

are respectable ingredients for a landscape ; but in itself this, from Catanea to Syracuse, is a desert covered with rocks and thistles, through which glide the gray snakes of bald chalk hills. A country so hideous and wretched that one would gladly give money not to see it.

Sicily may in all ages have produced corn, and formerly in greater abundance than now ; but upon the whole the soil of the island is not fertile like that of Lombardy, Belgium, the Golden Aue, and the like. The sweltering sirocco was blowing as we entered the modern Syracuse (we almost imagined it to be an indispensable accessory) quarrelled with the landlord, were furnished for five francs with as much to eat as in Paris would have cost us two, and entertained with panegyrics on the wondrous things that we should see on this the 17th day of August.

At five in the morning we set out under the guidance of a servant of the Cavaliere Landolina's, who was soon joined by other conductors, who, in solo, duo, and trio, served up to us a medley of truth and fiction. We inspected the remains of the theatre and amphitheatre, the cisterns and the street-pavement, the stone-quarries, and the ear of Dionysius, as well as the town and its environs, according to its ancient and modern divisions. I will not describe for the hundred and first time that which has been already described one hundred

times : what one now sees is evidently but a shadow of what once was. A surprising city, a prodigious activity, even rejecting much as exaggeration. On a small space Syracuse has done as much in proportion as Rome, the mistress of the world, with infinitely greater resources, and besides under governments that were worse than the present. Who can solve this enigma ? The afflicting idea forces itself upon me, that, when temples and aqueducts fall to ruin, men too decline. What their great forefathers built, this generation cannot even scratch out of the ground. Since I left Messina I have not seen a female, married or single, or a child, that could be called at all handsome, but immense numbers who were frightfully ugly. If there are any handsome ones (which upon the whole I cannot deny) they must at any rate have hid their light under a bushel : and the preceding remark only expresses the result of my own incontestable observation.

Have you, then, you will ask, found Sicily fall short of your expectation ? The word expectation has a very indefinite signification : but yet I may answer that question in the affirmative. How happens this, since, in the first place, the experience of my fellow-travellers agrees with mine ? We are led partly by innate prejudices, partly by the writers of travels, to place that which is afar off and southern higher than what is nearer and northern.

Thus people think that the further they proceed in Italy, the more beauty and excellence increase in every respect, and yet, according to the point of view, the reverse might be as easily maintained. The Brianza and the Lake of Como, for instance, are more beautiful than the valley of Palermo, and the declivities of the Alps infinitely finer than those of Etna. Further, the Sicilian towns are not to be compared with the more important cities of Italy. For, setting aside Rome and Naples, Florence is beyond comparison richer and more attractive than Palermo, Genoa and Venice far more characteristic than Messina, and Turin, without doubt, greatly superior in splendour and importance to Catania. Syracuse does not surpass the defunct Ferrara, and every thing Italian that is now conveniently accessible must here be purchased with more time, money, and exertion. Architects and mineralogists may with reason adopt a different standard ; but their's is as inapplicable for me as mine for them. That there is nothing to be seen in the interior of Sicily is admitted, as I have said, by Sicilians themselves ; and it is not denied even by architects, that on the long south side nothing manifests life but the ruins. Other points, state, administration, &c., I shall discuss hereafter, and there, too, the order of rank will be governed by a different standard from the degree of latitude. Naples and its environs are, in respect to nature, the splendid central point where

the northern and the southern are combined for the last time: a greater preponderance of the latter smacks of drouhty Africa, in the same manner as more to the north than Germany are to be found only the characteristics of an opposite tendency and development.

I have just come from the Museum. It contains much that is locally interesting; little that is of high value as productions of art. The celebrated Venus (unfortunately without a head) is undoubtedly a beautiful woman, but only an image of reality, such as is to be found in Nature, if one will seek it, not an ideal surpassing Nature, and nevertheless real and existing.

Sicily, as every body knows, is an island, and therefore the traveller is obliged to return to Italy by sea. It is to be regretted that the posting system by water by means of steam is not on so regular a footing as it might be. To wait eight days at Messina, or four days at Syracuse, for the slow *veloce*, appeared equally tedious; I have, therefore, adopted with Du Prat a third, and we believe better alternative; we shall start this evening at six with the *veloce* for Malta, arrive there in the forenoon of the 18th, be back in Syracuse on the 21st, in Messina on the 22nd, and on the 25th (thank God) in Naples — with joyous heart and a very light purse.

Modern Syracuse, any thing but a handsome or thriving town, has suffered considerably since the

seat of the district administration was transferred to Noto, and only a sub-intendant left there. This change was made as a punishment, because at the time of the cholera the deputy of the intendant (who was himself absent) and a commissary of police were searched for by the people out of the town and put to death — most certainly a heinous offence, and one that deserved punishment. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the wealthy and the persons in office had fled precipitately, instead of fearlessly performing their duty. In that time of terror and excitement, there were of course no authorities whatever; the military shut themselves up in the castles, and made no effort for the preservation of order. Is it then surprising that the populace, left to themselves, should have committed excesses? Such is the account given to me by a very well-informed man.

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### LETTER XCV.

Malta—Palace of the Grand Master—Spirit of the English Government—Heat—Musquitoes.

Malta (La Valetta) August 19th.

FROM the southernmost part of my tour I sincerely wish Manni joy on his birthday.

On the 17th, at six in the evening, we started from Syracuse for Malta. The sea was perfectly calm. Syracuse is still a large city compared with

many others ; but, setting aside historical recollections, or rather, perhaps, keeping them more in view, it appears lifeless, close, mean, monotonous, and we were glad that we were not obliged to stay there long. The sun set, as usual, without a cloud, and the bright golden tint of the sky was reflected in the magnificent mirror of the sea. In proportion as this gradually became darker, the moon asserted her claims, and gracefully danced upon the waves raised by the vessel. I would fain have passed the warm night upon deck, but was obliged to avoid the damp deposited by the atmosphere. In the morning the whole ship was wet. At sunrise I descried Malta and Gozzo in the distance. As the elevated town rose from the sea, its more southern and half-eastern character struck the eye. Messina, Catanea, Syracuse, exhibit in reality nothing, or but very little, of that kind. Aspect and impression were, therefore, wholly peculiar and new to me, and this of itself was sufficient to repay the resolution to visit the island. Fortifications of great strength and extraordinary number, a harbour, or rather five harbours, all so defended, so safe, and so deep, that the largest fleet would find room in them. Owing to the circumstance that England obtained possession of the island, it has become an intermediate point between the East and the West, and the opposition formerly kept up has been changed into a cordial accommodation. Look at those tall,

fair, ruddy descendants of Germans, striding with stately step; they appear like a totally different race of men, a race destined to command. But respect for truth obliges me to confess that I have seen more handsome women on the promenade here in one quarter of an hour than in all Sicily. Their costume, however, a black mantilla drawn up over the head, is not handsome; and it is rather surprising that in so hot a climate that colour alone should be worn. Even I, enemy to cold as I am, find the heat here too great; yesterday morning began with  $23^{\circ}$  ( $84^{\circ}$  F.), and in the bright sunshine the thermometer rose to  $42^{\circ}$  ( $126^{\circ}$  F.)

After I had settled myself at the Clarence Hotel, kept by Madame Goubau, I paid a visit to the governor, Mr. Bouverie, and then went to see the former palace of the grand-masters. Fine spacious apartments; some good pictures, or copies of good pictures, among them the three sisters (Graces, my guide called them,) by Palma Vecchio; an armoury, which showed that several of the grand-masters must have been of small stature, but have worn very heavy armour. From the tower of the palace you have a view of the whole town and the greatest part of the island. All the houses with flat roofs, scarcely a green thing, (especially at this season,) the bare chalk rock predominating. On the other hand, the greatest activity in every branch of agriculture; thus, at Syracuse, I had Maltese potatoes



set before me, professedly because Sicily produces no good ones !

Wherever the English come, idleness is driven away ; but then they bring political views and parties along with them. Thoughtless, passive obedience cannot maintain itself as the sole foundation of human society ; among a variety of new errors are also developed new and grand truths, and while the one assumes, or at least strives to gain, a higher position, the whole at last moves upward. Hence at this moment in Malta so many questions concerning the rights of the inhabitants, municipal regulations, appointment of natives and foreigners, grants of taxes, &c. Many may wish to consider the English as merely a voluntarily admitted garrison of their fortress, but in other respects to maintain complete independence. England can and will neither grant every thing nor refuse every thing : without England, Malta would retrograde in every respect. France possesses in Algiers a first link ; whether many others will be added to it (without the utmost efforts) appears extremely doubtful. Malta is small, but more secure ; it answers the proposed ends.

Why have all close aristocratic governments gone to ruin in modern times ? Look at Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Berne, Malta. Among many reasons, there is one of the greatest importance—because they were *close*, and consequently abstained far too much

from progression and renewal. The aristoi, therefore, were not the first and best ; there was no community of feeling between them and the people ; the latter grew up above them, or placed themselves in hostility to them. Just as little is the separate element of the monarchical or democratical favourable in the long run to a higher development. Solon and Servius Tullius, by their division of classes, poured a fresh stream of life into the body-politic, and the Roman senate kept up its importance so long only by not despising the people. The same thing may be said of the English House of Peers.

The 19th, Evening.

I have traversed the city in all directions. It is regular, clean, full of signs of activity, and of (apparently) increasing prosperity, only street beggary prevails to the same extent as in Italy. The principal church, St. John's, contains all sorts of monuments, but neither pillars nor columns, merely a long cellar-like roof, all in the style of the degenerate age of art.

August 20th.

As the heat is too intense to make (like Baron von Wolf) rational reflexions on all and every subject, I will avail myself of this forced leisure to notice some minor matters. My intelligent hostess says that she has never known so hot a summer in Malta. On this account I keep three shirts in

constant motion. You must not drink, say over-cunning people, that you may not perspire. This is just as rational as if any one were to enjoin you not to eat in order to prevent indigestion. Nobody could bear up long against such a system with increasing thirst and continual loss of humidity; and the stomach too requires incessant cooling, if one would not be sea-sick, or risk the danger of inflammation. From other ill effects of the heat, an eruption like measles may perhaps protect me.

The *saison* (as affected reporters at German spas are pleased to call it the *saison* of the fleas is past; but instead of them (in proof of the excellence of our waters) we have some of their cousins, who, though they dance less, sing more than the fleas. Mathematicians might say that the fleas devote themselves to planimetry; the mosquitoes to stereometry; for the flea-bite is confined to the surface, while the mosquitoes exemplify the theory of the elevation of mountains. The flea-bite disappears in a few hours, the bite of the southern mosquito not for many days.

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### LETTER XCVI.

Return from Malta to Messina.

Messina, August 22d.

THUS have I got in safety and without sea-sickness two degrees and a half further northward, and the heat too has decreased upon an average about

two degrees and a half. On the 20th, we left Malta, saw the bare dry south-west coast of Sicily, and arrived at Syracuse at nine in the morning of the 21st. But the present city is tiresome, and, during the prevalence of the oppressive sirocco, it was not worth while to run a second time after the scanty remains of antiquity. Excellent as the bread is in Malta, so wretched, hard, and heavy is it in Syracuse. The Moscato which we called for was absolutely unfit to drink, so strongly did it taste of rancid oil. Of course, said some one to me, because the skins are oiled before the wine is put into them. At our departure we wished ourselves in future the more remote acquaintance with the renowned city. From Taormina to Messina, the coast of Sicily is more beautiful and diversified than before; but nothing is to be found here like the mountains of Switzerland, Salzburg, and the Tirol, abounding in wood and water; and the numberless detached hills flung beside and upon one another want, in spite of their apparent diversity, harmonious connexion and picturesque beauty.

August 23d.

We (Du Prat, Malherbe, and myself,) have this time taken up our quarters at the Hotel du Nord, kept by Madame Müller, a native of Hamburg, and find ourselves quite comfortable there. On the other hand, the passport and excise authorities in the Neapolitan dominions cause more annoyance

and expence than in any country that I am acquainted with. Thus we went yesterday, soon after our arrival, to the passport-office, but were told that, though provided with a general passport, and two for Sicily, that is to say three in all, we could not set foot on the coast of Calabria; and that the permission requisite for this could not be obtained before ten or eleven to-day. And so we have been debarred of this excursion, on which we meant to start at five in the morning.

Every thing in this world is relative; so are heat and cold. In Malta the thermometer stood regularly at six in the morning in the shade at  $24^{\circ}$ , ( $86^{\circ}$  F.); at Syracuse, yesterday, the sweltering, oppressive sirocco was still blowing; now, six in the morning, my thermometer indicates only  $16^{\circ}$  ( $68^{\circ}$  F.) which induces me to make some change in my dress, lest I should take cold. I dare say I shall not in future find the Italian heat intolerable.

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### LETTER XCVII.

Messina—Farewell Concert—Return to Naples.

Naples, August 26th.

BECAUSE I do not sufficiently admire Sicily,\* an extraordinary honour was paid me in the night

\* "In my last letters from Sicily, or the succeeding ones from Naples, there must be something to show what a disagreeable impression this idolized island has left behind upon me. I wish to avoid repetitions on this point."—*Göthe to Zelter, Correspondence*, vi. 224.

before my departure, that between the 23d and 24th, which totally destroyed my rest. All the animals of paradise seemed to have concurred, or been directed, to treat me with a grand concert. Horses and mules beat time in the court with their hoofs. The hogs grunted, the asses brayed, the cats mewed, the dogs barked, the cocks crew, and the musquitoes trumpeted. I have not out of vanity named a single musician who was not there, and all co-operated most actively, according to the current phrase, in the performance of the opera.

I was up earlier than was necessary, gave the begging custom-house officers (who had been paid their fees the night before) nothing, in spite of their importunities, and desired them to search, which they wisely and conveniently declined. On the passage I saw part of the generally naked coasts of Calabria, touched at Tropea, and inquired the situation of Pizzo, where Murat was shot. "There lies the cursed place," replied the captain of the vessel. The weather was so favourable that, in all my sea-trips from Naples to Malta and back, I had not the slightest attack of sickness. Ecclesiastics and monks were every where taken on board and put ashore. Sometimes a sort of respect was paid them ; at others they were laughed at, or stories told in ridicule of them. Thus, for instance, the miracle of the feeding of five thousand persons was related to a Capuchin ; he was astonished at it, but,

after passing some moments, as if in a brown study, he observed that it would have been a much greater miracle if our Saviour had given five thousand loaves, fishes, and other food, to five persons, and they had eaten the whole with a good appetite, without overloading their stomachs or making themselves ill.

Had H— been on board with us he might have given full scope to his dislike of foreign languages. So mixed was the company that I had to speak German, French, English, and Italian.

In the evening of the 24th, the sun set very beautifully opposite to the moon, and on the morning of the 25th I saw the scene reversed with equal pleasure. Soon afterwards I discerned Monte St. Angelo and the coast from Amalfi to Cape Campanella. We passed between Massa and the fantastic Capri into the magnificent bay of Naples, which, according to my notions, surpasses all that I had seen in Sicily. Others may perhaps be of a different opinion. After I had happily got through the struggle with the hundred-handed boatmen, porters, police, and custom-house officers, land and sea guards, I arrived at St. Lucia, took possession of my old apartment, and again enjoyed the prospect, the tints of sunset, the moon, the sunrise. Fine pure air into the bargain—no sirocco, no *aria cattiva*.

August 29th.

Yesterday I called on M. P—, Minister of Justice, to thank him for the statistics of Neapolitan jurisprudence, with which he had presented me. The attendants in the ante-room of his office received me with that coarse condescension with which supplicants are usually treated; and when, after sending in my card, a message was brought to desire me to walk in, I modestly sought a safe corner for my umbrella. After our interview, as the minister accompanied me to the farthest ante-room, the officious serving-men pounced like birds of prey upon my umbrella, and he who was lucky enough to seize it presented it to me, after the minister had returned, with the utmost humility, and saying that “he kissed my hand a hundred times.” His expectation that I should in return put my hand into my purse was disappointed; I calmly told him not to trouble himself, and went my way. The fees for passports cannot be evaded in a similar manner, and still less the impositions of the publicans and sinners.

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### LETTER XCVIII.

Modern History of Naples—Charles III.—Ferdinand IV. and Marie Caroline—Conquest by the French—Parthenopean Republic—Restoration of the King—His second expulsion by the French.

Naples, July 5th.

As the kingdom of the two Sicilies has never had any decided influence on European affairs, its his-



dation of churches and Jesuits' colleges without the royal approbation, &c. Notwithstanding all that is here stated, the government acted rather from necessity and instinct than upon fixed principles, and in other respects the king showed himself bigoted and superstitious. Though the people, too, were in many respects highly superstitious, they frustrated the attempt, renewed even during the pontificate of Benedict XIV., to introduce the Inquisition.

In other points, too, Charles's government displayed great and well-meant, though sometimes mistaken, activity. He concluded, for instance, many commercial treaties, founded a tribunal of commerce, enacted rigorous laws against bankrupts, restored order in the coinage department, instituted a board for naval matters, protected the country from the corsairs, promoted the arts and sciences, built San Carlo and Caserta, embellished the Studj, as it is called, &c. A new *cadastre* still favoured the higher classes exceedingly ; but yet, in spite of many faults, it corrected greater evils, especially for the advantage of the lower classes.

When, in 1759, king Charles ascended the throne of Spain, he was succeeded in Naples by his son Ferdinand IV., then eight years old, under the guidance of a regency, the principal person of which was the Marchese Tanucci. Nay, it may be asserted that, till his dismissal in 1777, this man

was virtually the sovereign of Naples ; while the king learned nothing, attended to no business, merely ate, drank, slept, hunted, fished, and liked best to associate with uneducated persons.

Of a different disposition was Marie Caroline (daughter of Maria Theresa and sister of Marie Antoinette) who was married in her sixteenth year (1768) to the king, and soon gained a powerful influence over him. Her beauty, prudence, firmness, and activity, are as highly extolled as her ambition, severity, and cruelty, are censured. To describe and portray upon the co-operating back-ground of great political events, the joys and sorrows, the victories and defeats, the loftiness and the arrogance of that mighty mind, in astonishing and at the same time revolting combination, is a task worthy of an historian who knows how to reconcile impartiality and sympathy.

Tanucci's activity was more especially directed to ecclesiastical matters. He enforced the levy of *spolie* and *regalie*, suppressed several convents, limited the tithes and the admission into the clerical order, prohibited acquisitions in mortmain, summonses to Rome without the king's permission, interference of the pope in various ecclesiastical concerns, and that of the bishops in the system of instruction. He declared marriage a civil contract, expelled the Jesuits, &c.

The financial system continued unreformed and

very oppressive for the lower classes, because the higher enjoyed numberless immunities; the army was neglected, and individual improvements—for example in the administration of the law—were rarely approved by the authorities, accustomed to the old routine. Indeed, all was not of a piece, but good and bad, liberality and tyranny, showed themselves at once and in singular mixture. Thus, for instance, the colonies of St. Leucio, near Caserta, were founded on the philanthropic principles of the so-called philosophers. All the members of the settlement were to be perfectly equal, and elders annually elected (in place of disagreeable authorities) were to settle any disputes that might arise. All expense was renounced, and it was agreed that merit should decide on every occasion. There was to be free choice of matrimonial partners, without the influence of parents, no dowry, no wills, &c. Singular that, in the same kingdom and at the same time that such rose-coloured fancies and reveries were indulged, the reading of the Florence Gazette was punished with six months' imprisonment, and the reading of Voltaire with three years' labour in the galleys.

After the breaking out of the French revolution, every thing assumed a graver aspect: hopes sprang up, as well as apprehensions. The numerous adherents of the new doctrines looked for better times, better governments, the prodigious advance of so-

ciety ; the government, on the contrary (and Queen Marie Caroline, in particular), feared the overthrow of all order, and of all the good that the efforts of a thousand years had founded. The former conceived that secret associations and conspiracies were allowable, nay even necessary, for the attainment of such salutary ends ; the latter hoped by severity, or even cruelty and injustice, to check and put a stop to every movement of minds. Among the friends of innovation, there were not only well-disposed persons but also others who were swayed by ambition, cupidity, and inclination to crime ; among the advocates of subsisting institutions were some who would rather punish ten innocent persons than suffer one who was guilty to escape. Hence violation of legal forms, long imprisonment without trial, while the evils were but covered, not healed or extirpated. The victory of the one or the other party depended on external circumstances.

The idea conceived by the king or the queen of Naples of a defensive alliance of all the Italian states was judicious and adapted to the times ; but it was foiled through the timidity of other princes and of the republic of Venice. The government of Naples too lost courage when a French fleet under Latouche appeared, and demanded and enforced neutrality. In July, 1793, however, a new treaty was concluded with England, but it led to no rigorous measures, as the Neapolitan finances were in great disorder,

and the court lived in such alarm of conspiracies that the old life-guard was disbanded and a new one formed, the household arrangements were changed, the sleeping chambers kept secret, and the like.

In October, 1796, the court was obliged to purchase the continuance of peace by hard conditions and the payment of large sums. The danger approached still nearer when, in the spring of 1798, the French expelled the pope, and, under the name of liberty, practised the worst tyranny, or allowed it to be practised. Relying upon a treaty, concluded on the 19th of May, 1798, with Austria, England, and Russia, and on his just cause, the king of Naples declared war on the 22nd of November, 1798, and, full of the greatest hopes, entered Rome on the 27th. But his more numerous army was commanded by the incompetent Mack, and overweening confidence was succeeded by excessive terror; so that the French, after easy victories, took possession of Rome, and advanced with such rapidity that, on the 21st of December, 1798, the king fled to Sicily. In order to account for these disasters, various reasons were assigned: want of courage and discipline, fear of treachery, difference of wishes and objects, &c. While individuals exhausted themselves in heroic but unavailing resistance, others acquainted the French general Championnet with the disorganized state of the country, and urged him to accelerate his advance. The

populace of Naples, the lazzaroni in particular, equally far from political hopes and military calculations, were alone determined on resistance; while the most opposite plans crossed each other in the higher circles, Mack gave in his resignation, and Pignatelli, the viceroy, fled. With the obstinate resistance of the lazzaroni were associated horrors and crimes of various kinds. After they had lost 3000, and the French at least 1000 men, the latter entered Naples on the 22nd of January, 1799, and there founded, after the fashion of the time, a Parthenopean republic.

The king had raised the war and yet fled from it, collected treasures, and carried them with him, leaving all, without leader, without proper instructions, to domestic feuds and the sword of foreigners. For this reason part of the susceptible people was seized with enthusiasm for the new liberty; hence the removal of all magistrates and civil officers, trees of liberty and colours, vehement speeches, and wild dances, and religious exercises, in an unnatural, but on that account doubly exciting, medley. Championnet went to church with his officers to pay due reverence to the blood of St. Januarius, and it was considered as a good sign that it thought fit to liquefy sooner than usual.

The new republic, in fact, had no true and genuine foundation. Abstract theories, without practical knowledge and skill, talk about liberty and

equality, without means of rendering them comprehensible to the multitude, nay, without knowing wherein they consisted; a sudden, abrupt transition from unlimited monarchy to a republic established by conquest; no roots, no analogies in character, manners, and habits of the people. So much the more rapidly did the new rulers proceed in the work of destruction, caring little about building up again. Thus a new division of the country and of the administration was undertaken, by which, in ignorant haste, a bare mountain was erected into the capital of a district, rivers were twice specified, provinces forgotten, and so forth. Violent resolutions against churches and convents, clergy and nobles, were of very little immediate benefit to the people, and did not harmonize with their previous sentiments. But the zealots paused not till they had imitated the whole series of French resolutions: abolition of the rights of nobility and titles, overthrow of the royal statues, proclamation of Ferdinand a tyrant, and his domains national property, &c. Democrats traversed the provinces, and strove to gain over the ignorant people to the new wisdom, by extolling to the skies religious reforms, liberty of conscience, civil honour, abolition of wills, and numberless other things, some good, some bad, which were at that time forced upon nations in opposition to all that had previously subsisted.

The new constitution, a copy of the vicious French

constitution of 1793, was to give solidity and everlasting duration to the vague; and many, who comprehended nothing of its purport, good-naturedly believed in the value and effect of the new universal medicine, for the preparation and administration of which at first mountebank, but afterwards criminal, clubs actively operated. These frivolous pleasures were very soon disturbed by more sensible practical measures. Championnet disarmed the people out of suspicion, and forbade nocturnal amusements; he then demanded (for the infinite blessing of modern freedom was not to be had for nothing) a contribution of 17½ millions of Neapolitan ducats; he declared that by right of conquest all the property of the king, of the churches, of the convents, of the orders, of the banks, moreover the royal porcelain manufactory, and the collections from Herculaneum and Pompeji, belonged to the French. With classically barbarous erudition, Championnet returned for answer to the complaining Neapolitans, *Væ victis!*

No wonder if under such circumstances many minds again turned to the old system, and the counter-revolution, especially in Calabria, under Cardinal Ruffo, made progress. But it became not decisive till the disasters of the French in Upper Italy, which led in May, 1799, to the evacuation of Naples. The hopes of the republicans that, after the pernicious influence of the foreigners was



done away with, all would unite in behalf of a new and improved constitution were utterly disappointed. Before Ruffo's face the greatest horrors were perpetrated in Naples, and the convention concluded with the garrison of the citadel was violated—a procedure for which the queen and the co-operating English admiral, Nelson, have been most severely, and, as it appears, justly blamed.

It is certain that not the people only, but the government also, was led to indulge in revenge and cruelty. Instead of being rendered indulgent towards others by the consciousness of its own faults, and punishing only a few of the most mischievous, there ensued numberless apprehensions and severe imprisonments, inquisitorial forms, tortures, refusal of legal defenders, rewarding of the most unworthy assistants—all this was termed just zeal for the good cause. Every error in political matters, at that time so frequent and so natural, was considered as a most heinous offence, and while no allowance was made for the illusions of noble minds, an open alliance was formed with robbers and murderers. Fra Diavolo, Mammone, the blood-quaffer, and wretches of that class, were treated as friends by the king and queen, and loaded with titles and orders. Speziale, the chief judge, who afterwards became insane, reminds us by his bloodthirsty and bitterly cruel conduct of Judge Jefferies, and enemies, creditors, rivals, found no difficulty in gratifying their

selfishness or wreaking their revenge upon the most innocent persons. The counter-revolution outdid the revolution, and it was not clemency and humanity, but political motives, that put an end to the persecutions after the battle of Marengo.

In the new war of 1805, the former enthusiasm in behalf of the government was not displayed—a natural consequence of what has just been related. On the 23rd of January, 1806, the king fled, on the 11th of February, the queen, and on the 14th the French entered Naples a second time. The era of republics was past : it was decreed that new kingdoms should be formed out of conquests, and Joseph Bonaparte was acknowledged as sovereign without resistance. He had some qualifications and attainments, but not that mind and moral dignity which a king ought to possess.

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### LETTER XCIX.

State of Naples during the reign of Joseph Bonaparte—Murat—His Quarrel with Napoleon—His Fall.

Naples, July 6th.

IN what state did Joseph find the country, and what did he in the two years of his reign, 1806—1808? The administration of justice rested on very different legislations, which seemed to have sprung rather from accident and caprice than from know-

ledge and real want. There never had been a question about equalizing the taxes and impositions, and with arbitrary assessment was often associated an inordinate increase. Property was in few hands, and most of it entailed or immoveable, by means of feudal and ecclesiastical laws, majorats, trusts, &c. The nobles and clergy were wealthy, the people poor, and the organization of the communes not worth mentioning. A feeling of the want of greater liberty and of many a modification prevailed, but without perceiving how these were to be brought about by native energy and native means. A new king, a new government, appeared almost indispensable, in order to break up domestic intrigues by superior power and greatness, and to unite all hopes and all efforts for one general and salutary end.

Unfortunately, however, the mere imitation of what was French passed in general for the highest wisdom ; and excessive power of the police, as well as influence of spies and informers, belonged to the new patriotism and mode of government, just as a fondness for robbery and plunder ranged itself under the banners of the former dynasty. Colletta, therefore, says in his excellent history, of which I have gratefully availed myself :<sup>•</sup> “We were then—

• The Sicilians, nevertheless, complain that Colletta's history is extremely inaccurate in regard to their country, and that, when in office, his conduct was severe and cruel. Did not a very clever Florentine, G. C. take a very essential part in the preparation and composition of that work ?

I hope our pride will not be offended by this admission—not ripe for more free institutions. In order to found the liberty of a people, there belong not laws, but manners. Freedom, moreover, does not advance by leaps of revolutions, but by the steady step of improvement, and that legislator is wise who prepares the way for this progress ; but not he who drives civil society forward to an ideal good, with which the comprehension of the mind, the wishes of the heart, and the habits of life, in no wise correspond. Let us confess that a little suits and suffices most of the Italians ; they are either too polished, or not polished enough, for the enterprizes of freedom.”

But much was then done in Naples, and of this much a great part may be designated as unavoidable, useful development ; such as the regulation and simplification of the financial system, the abolition of many abuses of the feudal system, the release of river navigation from pernicious restrictions, and other improvements, which I shall notice presently. With the French code of laws, a free field was opened (to the joy of many theorists and advocates) for the display of eloquence. Salutary laws were issued for schools, but unfortunately pecuniary means were wanting for carrying into execution what was promised. Theoretical aversion, and still more fiscal cupidity, led to the dissolution of the convents. Amid these changes, nobody thought of

the poor, and real necessity, as well as immoral sentiments, produced cruelties and robberies of every kind. When Joseph was summoned to Spain, he had not gained the affection of his subjects, in spite of all his endeavours; for it was not till afterwards that many a law could yield useful fruit, while the defects of the present forcibly struck the eye. Joseph, said his opponents, reigned not as king, but as his brother's general, enriched foreigners at the expence of natives, made a partial bankruptcy, and, at the same time, new debts, sacrificed churches and convents to the necessities of the day, regardless of religion and the schools, and forgot that the dissolute life led by a king is not only derogatory to his dignity but operates detrimentally on extensive circles.

On the 15th of July, 1808, Murat was proclaimed king, and, on the 6th of September, he made his entry into Naples. People did not indeed expect of him a paternal or an independent government, but hoped that through him the kingdom would be raised to greater importance, and that the people would gain a beneficial influence by means of the new constitution. But it was soon perceived that Naples was to sacrifice herself for French objects, and that the constitution was an abomination to the king. It was never carried into execution, though it conferred neither authority nor influence.

Murat was involved in unbecoming quarrels with his wife, a woman of superior mind and character,

and in unavoidable disputes with his brother-in-law, especially about pecuniary payments and the supply of soldiers.

In the interior, the banditti were exterminated by the severest measures, and, through the rigorous application of the new laws, such retribution overtook the nobility, that many families were impoverished and ruined, while upstarts stepped into their places and were enriched at the expense of the state. The splendour, which every profusion diffuses for the moment, was not wanting here. New excavations, scientific collections, observatories, botanic gardens, and things of that kind, forming the light side of the picture; while the darker back-ground exhibited trebled taxes, stagnation of trade, and of course an impoverished country.

At the same time there was developed (a consequence of well-founded or exaggerated distrust) a system of espionage and informing, which penetrated into all circles, and disgraced even the highest officers of the crown.

The Neapolitan people, accustomed to change, and eager for it, had received Murat, (as it had done other rulers) with demonstrations of joy; but he cared little for its applause, and favoured the army exclusively, in order that by means of it he might maintain his ground against internal and external enemies.

During the ten years' administration of the French, says an intelligent writer,\* trade and manufactures flourished only through the barbarous treatment of foreign and the inordinate consumption of native commodities. An innumerable host of *employés* appropriated to itself millions of the current receipts and of the recently-acquired domains of the state. An army of 60,000 men, (exclusively of the militia, and other theatrically-dressed persons) ; officers in ever-varying uniforms ; an ant-hill of new nobles, vieing with old families, who could display their former pride at the new court only in superb, embroidered clothes : in short, disorder, folly, and profusion of every kind, operated for the momentary benefit of various trades ; but agriculture was left, through the interruption of all commerce, in a wretched situation.

Things soon began to assume a graver aspect, and, but for the war with Russia, Murat would have fallen out before he did with Napoleon. The emperor's declaration after the retreat from Moscow wounded him most deeply, and in a letter to Queen Caroline, Napoleon wrote, that her husband was ungrateful, had no capacity for politics, was unworthy of his alliance, and deserved the severest public punishment.

Murat replied in a bolder style than Napoleon

\* Sul cabotaggio fra le due Sicilie, p. 61.

and others expected. "The wound which your majesty has inflicted on my honour you cannot heal again. You have done injustice to an old companion in arms, who adhered to you in dangers, who was no unimportant contributor to your victories, a prop of your greatness, the reviver of your courage, when it failed on the 18th of Brumaire.

"You say that whoever has the honour to belong to your renowned family ought not to do anything that brings its honour into danger and diminishes its glory. And I reply, sire, that your family has received as much honour from me as I have gained by marriage with Caroline. A thousand times do I wish for the return of that time when, as a mere officer, I had superiors, but not a master. I have since become king; but even in this highest situation, tyrannized over by your majesty, controlled in my household concerns, I feel more than ever the need of independence, and thirst for liberty. Thus do you wound, thus do you sacrifice, through your suspicion, those men who have been most faithful to you and who have most contributed to your prosperity. Thus was Fouché sacrificed to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, Champagny to Bassano, Murat to Beauharnois, who has in your eyes the merit of silent obedience, or another, which to you is more welcome because it is more slavish, namely, that of having cheerfully announced to the French senate the repudiation of his mother.



"I can no longer deny my people some sort of restoration of commerce as a compensation for the immense injury which it has sustained from the maritime war.

"From all that has happened it follows that the old mutual confidence is changed. It will take such a form as pleases yourself; but, be your injustice what it may, I still remain your brother and faithful relative, Joachim."

After long hesitation Murat once more reconciled himself with the emperor, saw him for the last time at Erfurt, but, on his return to Naples, (at the end of 1813) perceived ominous signs of a hostile disposition. He hoped by severity or flattery to awe or to gain the Carbonari, and by negotiation to amuse the foreign powers. At length, on the 14th of January, 1814, Murat concluded an armistice with England, and a treaty with Austria, by which he was recognized as king of Naples. The art of deception was, according to his notions, the one thing needful in politics, and yet he deceived none but himself, especially with the dream of a splendid union of all Italy, which he was called to accomplish.

He therefore rashly resolved, after Napoleon's flight from Elba (February 26th, 1815) upon war, and advanced with his army to the Po. His invitations to co-operate for the Italian object were answered with speeches and verses; but no where

was there any appearance of active participation, or of that enthusiasm which grudges no sacrifice. So little was the time deemed favourable, and the king competent to solve the great problems proposed, that the persons released by him from Austrian confinement chose rather to shun all dangers and to return quietly to their own homes. The army, externally so brilliant, lost all hope and courage in the retreat; and treachery increased the confusion. Hence the defeat of the king on the 14th of May at Tolentino, and his flight on the 22nd. Two days before he published a constitution, dated back the 30th of March, as though in the moment of death this empty form could miraculously impart new life. In consequence of the convention of Casalanza, the Austrians entered Naples; but, in order to prevent the recurrence of former cruelties, they insisted on a general amnesty.



### LETTER C.

State of Naples on Ferdinand's Return — The Carbonari —  
Revolution of 1820 — Interference of Austria.

Naples, July 7th.

WHAT, on Ferdinand's return, was the state of the country, the people, and public opinion? In many indignation and hatred, on account of the oppression, the arbitrary proceedings, the immo-

ality, and the vanity of foreign rule, had struck such deep root that they totally forgot the defects of former times, and desired and exerted themselves to bring about an unconditional re-establishment of things upon their old footing. Others, whose experience extended farther back, recollected with apprehension all the evils which were formerly complained of, and which threatened to spring up afresh. In fact, true political wisdom would have alike rejected and prevented the unconditional retention of the new, and the unconditional restoration of the old.

Laws, customs, opinions, hopes, aims, had essentially changed during the last ten years: the mass of the people alone had remained upon the whole at the same point of intellectual, moral, and religious cultivation or ignorance. For years, they had been so often told that they were a set of worthless wretches, that they almost believed they had a right to make good the assertion. They were accustomed to the unlawful gains arising out of civil disturbances, to the plunder of feudal rights, to the conveniences of the new equality; and, on all these accounts, restless, rapacious, and to be kept quiet by force alone.

The clergy, full of hopes of an extension of their power; the nobility, dissolved as a body, and in regard to their interests standing nearer to the people than before. Discipline in the army essentially diminished; the pretensions of every am-

bitious person, of every man of talent, immoderately increased. Instead of the former respect for the existing government, there was fear in proportion as it showed itself powerful, or attachment according as it rewarded. Instead of inward affection, there prevailed outward calculation, and men were more ready to obey persons than the laws. Many deemed it wise to reconcile arrogance with servility, and to practise both at once.

Royal proclamations of the 20th and 24th of May, 1815, transmitted from Messina, heightened the hopes that were conceived. They recommended peace and concord, and promised oblivion of the past. A modest confession of faults ran through them ; and, in adverting to fundamental laws of the state, to liberties, and to formal guarantees of them, they seemed to offer a constitution, though they abstained from the mention of it.

Queen Caroline, Murat's consort, saw from the harbour what festivities were preparing for King Ferdinand, and heard the songs which the populace, approaching in boats, were singing in derision of herself. Murat, nevertheless, conceived that he might rely on Neapolitan attachment : he was condemned to die by men to whom as king he had given their appointments. For the moment, people were tired of revolutionizing, and would not, for the sake of an upstart, plunge the whole nation into new dangers.

This easy victory tended to ruin the government ; for it now imagined that all dangers were obviated, showed more and more decidedly an intention of abolishing even the salutary arrangements adopted by the government during the preceding ten years, and of annihilating former opponents by accusations, degradations, and punishments, instead of conciliating and gaining them by an opposite course. After the departure of the Austrians, (1817) the faults of the government became more frequent, and though they were not of such extent and importance as in other countries revolutionized on that account, still they put an end to confidence, attachment, and hope ; and noble-minded as well as over-heated and self-interested Carbonari strove to shake the not yet firmly rooted monarchy, and to inspire a fondness for political forms of a different kind. As about this period the Spanish revolution was extolled to the skies, and Riego and Quiroga were represented as heroes, the Neapolitan Carbonari would not be outdone, and the revolution of 1820 was the consequence.

“ There is reason to believe,” says General Carascosa in his Memoirs, “ that King Ferdinand, on his return from Naples, intended to perform what he had promised. The men who had served under Murat were, therefore, at first treated with respect, the sale of the national domains and the new nobility were confirmed, and the administration was re-

tained. Many mistakes were subsequently committed. Those persons were universally preferred who had accompanied the king to Sicily, the army was reformed five times in four years, and adherents of the Bourbons found pardon for even heinous offences. Hence great discontent, which was the more dangerous, as two conquests and two restorations had attacked and vitiated the morals of the people."

The secret societies, the Calderai, and the Carbonari, had been, according to circumstances, alternately protected and persecuted by the different governments.

When the Carbonari, those foes to foreign domination, saw their hopes relative to the introduction of a constitution not realized after Ferdinand's restoration, they regulated anew their almost dissolved society, and by the admission of a great many members so increased their number and influence, that they had it in their power to impede all the steps of the government, and to make the army dependent upon them, especially by means of the subaltern officers.

On the 2nd of July, 1820, a lieutenant Morelli, a man of no consequence, at the head of one hundred and fifty men, proclaimed a new — nobody knows what — constitution. The soldiers sent against him joined the innovators, while all those who had hitherto been called the exclusively

faithful in Naples lost courage, and the equally timid king resigned his power to his son. Many were displeased with the course, though they approved the aim, of the insurrection, and when the people shouted, "Live God, live the king, live the constitution !" most expected the fulfilment of their respective hopes, offices, honours, diminution of taxes, &c.

While thousands of the soldiers ordered out left their posts, the Carbonari hastened to the revolutionary army, and forced the acceptance of the Spanish constitution, with the purport of which they were unacquainted, and which was less adapted to Naples than to Spain. At the head of what was called the sacred band, the abbé Minichini entered Naples, habited as a priest, armed as a soldier, decorated with all the insignia of the lodges. He was followed without order by a motley mixture of clergy, monks, and laity, high and low, Carbonari, or others who now wished to pass for such. As soon as the procession was visible from the royal palace, the viceroy issued orders that all should assume the signs of the Carbonari; whether owing to fear or policy, or because the intention to deceive was already at the bottom, I cannot decide.

General Pepe addressed a formal speech to the viceroy, who made this reply: — "The king, the people, we all, owe our thanks to the constitutional army, and to you its worthy chiefs. The throne

was not secure ; it now stands firmly founded on the will and the interests of the people.”

After the king had on the 13th of July sworn to maintain the Spanish constitution, the new prosperity appeared to be unchangeably founded, and universal joy and satisfaction seemed to prevail.

The new parliament, (upon the whole between 70 and 80 persons) adopted the Spanish constitution for the second time, almost without alteration ; Sicily, on the contrary, would not suffer its future lot to be prescribed by Naples. In Palermo a dreadful riot took place ; this was succeeded by open civil war between the two principal divisions of the kingdom. The parliament, with passionate partiality, rejected the convention concluded by General Florestan Pepe with Palermo, and diminished the strength of the kingdom at a moment when other not less serious dangers were impending.

In the first place, the power of the Carbonari and their lodges grew till it surpassed that of the parliament. The well disposed drew back from them in proportion as the hot-headed and self-interested thrust themselves forward, and vied with each other in proposing violent resolutions. Instead of the monarchical spirit, which still partially prevailed at first, the democratic, or rather the anarchical, gained the ascendancy ; and this, regardless of the actual state of things at home and abroad, cared



not if the hopes originally entertained were gradually dispelled, and gave place to general discontent. Obscure persons, without any merit, aspired to the first offices, quoting the examples of Massena and Hoche, when their competence was doubted. Instead of avoiding all grounds of discord, under circumstances so new and so difficult, they maltreated the nobility, insulted the civil and military officers, and believed, as superficially as unseasonably, that liberty consists in constant contradiction and opposition.

Warnings not to change every thing, and thereby to divide and to weaken, exhortations to correct the constitution, and to satisfy the foreign powers, proved of no avail. People cherished the conviction that the latter would concern themselves no more about Naples than if it lay in the moon ; and that any consideration only showed weakness and slavery, whereas, to dash boldly forward, was the way to overawe and to deter. And this belief they entertained while the soldiers were running home in troops, and discipline was so totally disregarded that lieutenants resolved that their colonel should be expelled, or even put to death.

Such was the state of things, when, on the 6th of December, 1820, the king declared that he had been invited by the allied powers to go to Laybach, and that he would endeavour with all his

might to procure for his people a free constitution, founded on the following principles :—

1. No privileged orders, but general personal liberty.

2. Right of the representatives of the people to grant the taxes, to investigate the public revenues and expenditure, and to take part in the enactment of laws.

3. Responsible ministers, and irremovable judges.

4. A fixed civil list.

5. Liberty of the press, under certain legal provisions.

6. No persecutions on account of the past.

These points, in fact, comprehended all that was essential, all that could be hoped and wished, and they derived double weight from the decided expectation that the foreign powers would declare their acquiescence in them. The parliament, nevertheless, rejected them, out of arrogance, and a senseless predilection for the Spanish constitution. It forgot, that, notwithstanding all the solemn promises of the timid king, a war in defence of this impolitic patchwork would be inevitable.

Almost all the ministers resigned, and vehemence in speech and writing increased, while, in reality, nothing was done to avert or to overcome the impending dangers. The army, hastily collected, was weak, without discipline and order, and indisposed

to war. When, therefore, on the 7th of March, Pepe, too precipitately, and without having made suitable dispositions, attacked the Austrians at Rieti, his division of the army dispersed without resistance, and the second, under General Carascosa, followed its example. The inhabitants of the Abruzzi received the Austrians with open arms, and on the 23rd of March they entered Naples without opposition.

The king, instead of finding grounds for clemency in the weakness and pitifulness of his own conduct, gave free scope to accusations and punishments, and in a short time Naples suffered inexpressibly under a two-fold tyranny, the revolutionary and the absolutist. It is difficult to judge impartially of all these circumstances ; but so much is certain that the Neapolitans are to be pitied as well as blamed—the former inasmuch as their grievances were by no means unfounded ; but they had no formal or legal mode of urging and obtaining a remedy for them. This almost compelled the adoption of revolutionary expedients. They are further to be pitied for this reason, that they were obliged (as at one time under Murat) to fight for a cause which many deemed foolish or unjust. Thus they lost at once the reputation of wisdom and valour. They must be blamed, inasmuch as they acted without prudence, precaution, and political moderation, which, after so disorderly a beginning,

were doubly necessary for excuse and justification. Neither party did what was right ; neither seems to have gained instruction from experience ; and thus it is that fire smoulders under embers, till sooner or later circumstances fan it into a flame. Colletta, himself a Neapolitan, judges in the grief of his noble heart more severely than I, a foreigner dare do. He says : — “ In Italy thought and tongue are free, the heart servile, the arm sluggish, and in every political occurrence there is scandal only, but no energy.” He truly and prophetically adds in another place : — “ Every revolution, every tyranny, is impotent. Virtue and cultivation alone have power to effect permanent improvements. To them, therefore, rulers and nations ought to direct their hopes and their efforts.”

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## LETTER CI.

Naples — Constitution — Parliament — Clergy — Convents —  
Concordat — Nobility — Agriculture.

Naples, July 8th.

BRIEF and imperfect as the preceding sketch of the history of Naples is, still it will facilitate the comprehension of what has been done during the last thirty-three years in regard to legislation. The tendency and spirit of this legislation are so different, according to the position and point of view

of different governments, that I ought perhaps to arrange my communications under so many divisions, and to bring together all the changes that were made under Joseph, Murat, Ferdinand, &c. But, as this mode of proceeding would frequently render it necessary to break in pieces that which belongs together, I think it better to give one general view of all that relates to one subject.

Let us begin with the constitution. Joseph Bonaparte conceived that this ticklish point might be wholly waved, inasmuch as an administration only, and no real constitution, had till then subsisted in Naples. In the year 1808, Napoleon, nevertheless, thought it better to give his brother-in-law, Murat, a letter of recommendation in the constitution of the 20th of July. One hundred members, elected from among the clergy, the nobility, the landed proprietors, the literary and the mercantile classes, were to form the five benches of the parliament. No public meetings, but private consultations and votes : no restraint on the proceedings, upon pain of rebellion. When the king has heard the parliament, he decides.

At his departure, Joseph declared that he was obliged to yield to cruel necessity, and to withdraw from a people that he had so much reason to love. To soothe the sorrow of this beloved object, Murat wrote as follows :—"It is extremely gratifying to us that we are chosen to govern and to

lead back to its ancient glory a people endowed with the happiest qualities. The first duty that we impose on ourselves in this work is to show on every occasion to all Europe our gratitude towards the illustrious Emperor Napoleon, and to secure for our people all the advantages arising from the intimate union of its interests with those of the great French empire. The constitution, which has been solemnly accepted, shall form the foundation of our government. It is our wish to be in a few weeks in the midst of you, with our illustrious consort Queen Caroline, with our crown-prince Achilles Napoleon, and with our little family, which we gladly confide to your attachment and your loyalty."

Such was the new-fangled liberal and old-fashioned legitimate declaration of Murat. After his arrival, ordinances were issued relative to orders, armorial bearings, the royal genealogy, and the court dresses ; but, in regard to the constitution, he gladly accepted a proclamation of the retiring Joseph, of the 23d of June, containing this passage : " Till the period shall arrive when the act of the constitution shall come into activity, every thing shall remain as it was."

Napoleon was silent, and thus neither the constitution of 1808, nor that made public two days before Murat's flight, was ever put in force.

On the other hand, King Ferdinand, at his return on the 20th of May, 1815, promised what

follows:—Personal and civil liberty is secured ; property is sacred ; the sale of the national domains irrevocable. The taxes to be granted (*decretate*) according to the forms which the laws shall prescribe. In the army every one retains his rank, pay, and honours. Every Neapolitan is admissible to all offices. The old and the new nobility are confirmed ; the public debt is guaranteed, and an unconditional amnesty (without quibbling and without exceptions) is granted.

These assurances were performed only in part, and of the development of the public law, to which allusion was made, no further notice was taken. Hence chiefly the revolution of 1820, the acceptance of the Spanish constitution on the 7th of July, and on the 8th the appointment of a commission to translate it into Italian, that people might learn what a treasure they had found, for what wisdom they were so zealous, and what duties they had sworn to perform. After this tie was broken nothing more was ever done for public law, and, in the higher and formal sense of the term, it does not exist in Naples.

Let us now consider the fortunes of the different states, and first of the clergy. In this particular the legislation of Joseph and Murat was closely copied from the French. Separate jurisdiction ceased, and nothing was left to the bishop but a correctional superintendence of the clergy. No

one was to receive ordination without a benefice, and it was not to be conferred on more than five persons in a thousand. The church lands were subjected to all the general laws, (for instance, land-tax, communal assessments, &c.) which, of course, occasioned a material loss to the holders.\*

In regard to convents and monastic orders, much more energetic measures were pursued. In the preamble to a law concerning their dissolution in 1807, it is said, "The force of circumstances compels every nation to follow more or less slowly the movement which mind imparts to every age. The religious orders, which rendered so many services in times of barbarism, have become less useful through the very success of their own efforts. Our religion, now glorious and triumphant, needs no longer to have recourse to the hospitality of convents against persecutions; in the bosom of families too are altars erected, and the secular clergy respond to our confidence and that of our people. The general diffusion of a fondness for the arts and sciences, the spirit of war, of commerce, of colonies, have forced all the governments of Europe to direct the talents, the activity, and the resources of their people to these important objects. As we, nevertheless, (so this law proceeds after various other commendations,) purpose to act towards the con-

\* Many church estates were subject to certain taxes so far back as King Charles's time.



vents and monks with justice and benevolence, the former are dissolved, their possessions shall be sold for the benefit of the creditors of the state, and an annuity of 200 dollars (Neapolitan ducats) is granted to every monk, and of 60 to every lay-brother." About 250 convents were in this manner dissolved. Only a few hospices, and likewise the archives of Montecassino, Montevergine, and La Cava were retained; the mendicant monks, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to remain in their former state.

In a subsequent law of the year 1809, it is said: "The force of circumstances imperatively commands the suppression of all convents without exception. But, to improve as much as possible the condition of those who are affected by this measure, every one in priest's orders shall receive yearly 96 dollars, every other 48 dollars, and the allowances to the members of convents already dissolved shall be diminished one-fifth." The annual allowance of the professed was afterwards fixed at 120 dollars, that of lay-brothers at 60, that of nuns at 9, and that of lay-sisters at  $4\frac{1}{2}$ .\*

Certain as it is that church and monastic property was recklessly seized and frequently squandered for reprehensible purposes, and that these harsh measures were, moreover, aggravated by scorn; still, on the other hand, the vast number of

\* Bianchini, iii. 476.

the monks and nuns had had pernicious effects on the cultivation of the country and the improvement of the people, so that salutary fruits resulted immediately from these innovations. Since the year 1820, every thing has been moving in the former contrary direction. Many convents and religious foundations are restored, many new ecclesiastical fraternities founded, numberless donations and bequests made, the Jesuits received and endowed, and the government, taking the lead in all this, paying for or confirming it; till, perhaps, the ambition and arrogance of the clergy, awakened by their newly-regained power, may again produce violent reactions.

For the regulation of all ecclesiastical matters for the moment, a concordat was concluded with the papal court on the 21st of March, 1818, to the following effect :—The Catholic religion is the only religion of the kingdom; therefore, the instruction given in all universities, gymnasiums, and public and private schools, must accord with all and each of its doctrines. Beyond the Faro all archbishoprics and bishoprics are retained; but on this side of it they are subjected to new limitations. Every bishop shall have a fixed annual income of not less than 3000 ducati (dollars); every director of a religious foundation not less than 500; a parish priest in towns of above 5000 inhabitants at least 200, between 2000 and 5000 inhabitants at least

150, and in places under 2000 at least 100 dollars.

The pope nominates to consistorial abbeys which are not in the king's gift. To simple benefices (*benefixj simplicij di libera collazione con fondazione ed erezione in titolo ecclesiastico*) the pope nominates for six months and the bishops for the six other months. The same regulation applies to canonries; but all persons appointed must be subjects of the king. The pope grants to the bishops the right to appoint tried and approved men as parish priests. If the patronage is vested in the king or a layman, the bishop inducts the person nominated, provided that he is found to be competent.

Ecclesiastical property not yet sold is to be given back to the church, and to be administered by four persons, two nominated by the king and two by the pope. The latter confirms the possession of church property already sold. The convents are to be restored, as far as the existing resources permit. Possessions not yet disposed of are to be divided among the convents which are to be again opened, without any regard to former title to the property. Monks not restored retain their allowances. The church has a right to acquire new possessions, and no ecclesiastical foundation shall be suppressed without the consent of the holy see. The pope shall have a right to confer every year benefices to

the amount of 12,000 ducats, on subjects of the States of the Church.

Ecclesiastical suits, especially such as relate to matrimonial matters, must be tried in the spiritual courts. Archbishops and bishops have a right of spiritual censure over clergy and laity, agreeably to the resolutions of the Council of Trent. The former are at liberty to hold intercourse (*comunicare*) with clergy and people, and to issue exhortations and charges on spiritual matters. The bishops, clergy, and people shall have a right to apply to the holy see, and to hold communication with it on all spiritual matters whatever; consequently, the laws, decrees, and circulars of the *liceat scribere* are annulled.

Whenever the archbishops and bishops find that books printed in the country or imported from abroad contain anything contrary to the doctrines of the church or to morality, the government shall prohibit the sale of them.

The holy see grants permission (*accorda l'indulto*) to the king to nominate deserving persons to be archbishops and bishops. But, before they are canonically installed in the manner hitherto customary, they shall not take the administration upon themselves, and their installation depends on the confirmation of the pope. On the 20th of July, the rights of patronage, lay and ecclesiastical, which had been abolished, were re-established.

It cannot be said that the above-mentioned fixed incomes of the clergy (if, however, their number is necessary, and there is no other endowment) are too high; and many other provisions of the concordat appear perfectly consistent with the notions of the catholic world. But the 18th century would scarcely have conceded to the pope so much as the 19th has done; and it seems very doubtful whether the right of nominating bishops, clogged with such conditions, will always be sufficient to protect the state and the king from hierarchical encroachments. Many, at least, are already complaining of the severe restrictions on literature and science, frequently originating with the clergy; while others assert that the court of Rome has often used its influence to moderate violent passions, and to keep clergy and laity in order. It is true that the Neapolitan government does not allow the publication and application of any papal rescripts without its consent; and displays such firmness, nay, sometimes severity, (notwithstanding the concordat) in matters concerning the bishops and clergy, as the court of Rome would scarcely suffer a Protestant sovereign to exercise without reprimand.

In order to comprehend what has been done recently for, or rather against, the nobility and the feudal system, it is necessary to keep previously subsisting defects constantly in view. Thus Afan de Rivera, a well-informed and intelligent writer,

says: " Ever since the time of the Anjouins, the exchequer and the feudal barons have pressed heavily upon the country. All the principal taxes were laid upon the lower classes, while the nobility and clergy were mostly exempted. To this were added, under the Spanish Habsburgers, a wretched oppressive administration, exactions of money merely to be sent abroad, excessive levies of soldiers, foolish monopolies of the government, attacks and plunder by the Saracens, pestilence and contagious diseases. Hence poverty, celibacy, inactivity, emigrations. The people, depressed by so much injustice and calamity, fell into a sort of apathy, from which no viceroy ever thought of rousing them. They durst not bake in their own ovens, grind at their own mills, press olives at their own presses, because ancient custom or privileges stood in the way."

Force had created and introduced the pretended right, and for the sake of a few highly-favoured persons the whole civil society was daily retrograding, till Charles III. interposed to check its backward course. He was, however, obliged to stop half way, and it was not till the 19th century that the feudal system, in all its parts, gave way to the more urgent wants and wishes of the times. By a law of Joseph's, of the year 1806, it is enacted: "The feudal system, and all feudal jurisdiction, are abolished; all towns, villages, hamlets, are subjected to

the general laws of the country. The nobility, however, transmit rank and title to their descendants in the order of primogeniture. All feudal dues to the exchequer cease, and feudal estates are subject to the same taxes as others. All burdens, services, and duties of a personal nature, which feudal laws were accustomed to require and to levy under whatever name or title, from communes or individuals, are abolished without compensation. Without compensation also are abolished all prohibitive rights (monopolies) in so far as they did not originate in purchase, or in a burdensome manner. Rivers are public property. The feudality of offices as well as *fideicommissa* shall cease ; but rights, incomes, and dues attached to things and land, shall continue to subsist."

A second law of the year 1809 is still more rigid. By virtue of it were abolished all rights of pasturage which the lords exercised upon the meadows or lands of other persons ; so were all tithes upon meat, all taxes upon cattle and fireplaces, without compensation. Any one who hopes to gain an exemption from this enactment must produce his proofs in the course of the year 1809, before the board to be appointed for this special purpose. How difficult it was to produce such proofs is apparent from those words of the law which define the grounds of decision. And if—it is there said—a compensation for service may appear possible, still the

total worth of the lands assigned for cultivation is fully compensated by the increase of persons and fireplaces, from which new dues and burdens of various kinds have been levied. Moreover, all these dues press more especially upon the lower classes of the people.

Well-founded as many of these complaints were respecting arbitrary impositions upon the poor and weak, the commission, acting upon such instructions and views, could not itself avoid falling into many precipitate and arbitrary proceedings and violations of property. Murat therefore dissolved it in 1810, and transferred its duties to the ordinary authorities. These duties were augmented, inasmuch as all services, relations of dependence, imposts, common rights, were declared dissoluble and redeemable;\* and to this end averages of ten years and estimates by competent persons were taken for the groundwork. Disputes were mostly decided by the *juge de paix*, but in particular cases appeal might be made to a higher tribunal.

These important, and, upon the whole, in spite of many defects, salutary changes, had been so far carried into effect under foreign rule, that it was impossible to strike into a different track, or to

\* A praiseworthy law relative to the division of common lands, of the year 1792, was unfortunately rendered inefficacious by opposition of all kinds.—BIANCHINI, *Storia delle Finanze di Napoli*, iii. 79.



replace things on their old footing. But, after Ferdinand's restoration, the spirit and temper of the government were so altered that it lent a more willing ear to the complaints of the possessors of feudal property, strove to obtain and secure for the nobility more favourable rights, confirmed the allodial succession in fiefs, and permitted the founding of majorats (in 1818 and 1822) upon the following conditions:—Nobles alone can found majorats, and each requires the confirmation of the crown. They must not exceed the amount of the property which the owner has a right to dispose of. None of them shall produce a larger income than 30,000, or a smaller than 2000 Neapolitan ducats, which may arise from land, ground rent, or money in the public funds.

The important effects of a legislation like that here described upon country and nation have been so frequently discussed, that any further consideration or opinion on the subject appears superfluous. A few local remarks in addition may not be misplaced.

1. The number of landed proprietors, as well as their activity, has been very much increased by it; though many of the smaller, by the unlimited division of landed property, have been at last forced to sell and to descend into the class of mere labourers. On the other hand, alienations of this kind led to the augmentation of a class of land-owners, whose

property forms perhaps the happiest medium between too little and too much.

2. The system of the *mexxadria*, the halfling, is almost unknown in the Neapolitan dominions. Proprietorship predominates, and, where that is wanting, lease and rent supply its place. The former, if not for a long term, at least for several years as in Sicily, where the leases, confined in general to three years, deter from all improvements and are the ruin of agriculture.

3. The nobility, with very few exceptions, care nothing at all about agriculture. For this disposition, unfortunately so general and so injurious in Italy, there were other peculiar reasons in Naples : in the first place, the insecurity of residence in country mansions ; and secondly, the solicitude of the kings to draw the feudal nobles to the capital, and to make them dependent on the court. Neither of these reasons exists in the same degree as formerly, and thus the nobility will, it is to be hoped, become more and more convinced that he loses power and influence who is not active enough to acquire and not provident enough to save.

4. Though there is no want of capital in the country, the rate of interest is very high, and the difficulty of obtaining a loan very great. This arises from the distrust of the capitalists, occasioned by very defective arrangements respecting mortgages, erroneous or even knavish appraisements,

partiality of the authorities, tardiness of lawsuits, &c. Thus the agriculturist and the manufacturer are frequently in want of capital to go on with, or they are furnished with it on conditions, for the fulfilment of which no natural or safe profits can suffice. Hence bankruptcies and redoubled distrust.

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## LETTER CII.

Naples—Administration—Municipal Institutions.

Naples, July 9th.

PERHAPS I had done better to have given a variety of statistical particulars relative to the extent, the nature, the population of the country, and the like, before entering upon the subjects of my last letters. But constitution and administration operate just as powerfully upon material circumstances as these do upon them, and so I will follow up my reports on the constitution, the clergy, and the nobility, with another on the administration. As this was copied under Joseph and Joachim almost entirely from the French model, and much connected with the ministry and the council of state has been retained, I abstain from repeating what is generally known on that subject, and extract what follows from the laws relative to towns and communes issued between the years 1806 and 1809.

The towns are divided, according to their population, into three classes, having fewer than 3000 inhabitants, from 3000 to 6000, and above 6000. Among the latter are reckoned also those which are the seat of an intendant, a court of appeal, or a tribunal of first instance. They are under the intendant of the province and the minister of the interior. The decurions, elected from among the heads of families paying taxes, consult, under the presidency of a syndic, on the affairs of the commune. All proposals relative to receipts and expenditure require the confirmation of higher authority. Additional centimes to the land-tax constitute the principal revenue.

In Naples, the magistracy consists of a syndic, 12 elect, 12 assistants, and 12 *canzelleri*, for the twelve divisions of the city. The *canzelleri* alone receive pay. All are appointed by the king, on the recommendation of the minister of the interior, in general for three years. The king, moreover, nominates thirty proprietors as decurions for four years.

The magistracy manages the property of the city, originates proposed measures, assesses the taxes, attends to the execution of higher orders relative to recruiting, quartering, public festivities, and the like; superintends the police of the markets and the paving of the streets, the relief of the

poor, charitable foundations, the fountains, aqueducts, stalls, &c.

Proposed regulations, and likewise the accounts of the year, are submitted to the decurions. The syndic alone corresponds with the intendant, as does the representative of each district with the syndic. The whole system of police is under the direction of a prefect.

So much for the laws of that time, which, from a prevailing predilection for centralisation, conferred no real power or importance on the communes. There is indeed reason to doubt whether, if greater concessions had been made, there would then have been the least obedience left, or whether in general a free municipal system is possible without powerful influence of the government, in cases where few persons are capable and disposed to tyrannise over the communes, or excited parties are opposed to one another.

After the return of King Ferdinand, there was issued in the year 1816 an important and circumstantial law relative to the general administration of the country, the principal provisions of which I subjoin. The administration refers either to the province, or to the district, or to the commune. The first officer in every province is the intendant. He is at the head of the whole administration, is the immediate director of all communes and public institutions, conducts the tax department, the po-

lice, and all military matters, unless these are assigned to other special authorities. His chief assistant and fellow-labourer is the secretary-general. The council (*consiglio*) of the intendancy, formed after the model of the French *conseil de prefecture*, consists of from three to five members; the intendant has the casting vote. Besides the right of judging in certain fiscal or administrative processes, it is the duty of this body to give its opinion when asked on a variety of subjects.

In every province there is further a provincial council composed of from fifteen to twenty members, which assembles once a year for at most twenty days, and must not consult upon any matters but such as are submitted to it. The intendant opens the sittings, and the resolutions are transmitted by him to the minister of the interior for further consideration, distribution, and reply. The council of the province examines the proposals of the district councils, draws up under the direction of the intendant the projects proposed for the province, gives opinions concerning the course of the administration, appoints deputies to superintend and inspect public works, proposes resources for defraying the expenses of them, examines the accounts of disbursements, &c.

The district council of ten members has the same functions within a smaller circle as the provincial council in the province.

In every commune there must be, for the pur-

poses of administrations, a syndic, two elect, a decurionat or communal council, and a proportionate number of subordinate officers. The syndic, with the advice of the elect, conducts the whole administration and is president of the decurions. These assess the taxes, propose the additional centimes, examine projects, and have a right to express their opinion respecting all the concerns of the town. They nominate the syndic — this nomination, however, is subject to the approbation of the higher powers—the elect and the inferior municipal officers. They propose a triple list of persons for the provincial and district councils. The number of the decurions is from 8 to 30, according to the population of the place, and at least one third of them must be able to read and write.\* Their consultations are held with closed doors, and none of their resolutions can be carried into execution without the approbation of the intendant. In case of disagreement, the ministry decides. Naples has a syndic, twelve elect, and thirty decurions.

In every commune a list is drawn up of persons qualified for town, district, and provincial officers. In order to be admitted into it a person must pos-

\* In Prussia all public and communal officers must be able to read and write. Nay, when the commanders of regiments find that a recruit is not master of these attainments, they are required to communicate the fact to the proper authorities, that an investigation may be set on foot respecting the deficient or fruitless instruction.

sess, in towns of the first class, an income liable to taxation of at least 24 Neapolitan ducats (dollars); or have carried on for five years some liberal trade (*artiliberale*). In towns of the second and third class an income of 18 and 12 ducats is sufficient, and the carrying on of some trade, or a farm of a certain extent. One fourth of the decurions go out annually; the intendant extracts from the above-mentioned list thrice the number to supply their places, and the minister chooses at pleasure.

The decurions of every commune having under 3000 inhabitants propose one candidate for the provincial council; the decurions of each town containing from 3000 to 6000 inhabitants propose two for the provincial and two for the district council. Still larger towns have a right to propose three. They must stand in the list of eligible persons, and have an income of at least 400 ducats. From among those proposed the government nominates the new fourth of the councillors who annually enter upon office.

The syndics and the elect continue in office three years, but they may be confirmed for three years more, if they themselves and the decurions wish it, and the government consents.

The intendants have a yearly salary of from 3000 to 4400 ducats; the secretaries-general from 940 to 1300; and the councillors of intendency from 500 to 700. None of the syndics or of the elect receives



pay ; those of Naples only were formerly allowed compensations.

The property of towns is required to be kept separate from that of the state and of private persons, and, as far as circumstances permit, to be placed out at interest. All exemptions from communal burdens are abolished.

In case the imposition of a tax on articles of consumption should become necessary for the purpose of covering the town-disbursements, it is laid in preference on articles of luxury, and not on those of prime necessity. The tax on grinding in particular is never to exceed one carlin per tomolo.

Such are the principal provisions of this law. That, in its application, all deciding power lies in the hands of the intendant and of the government ; on that point there is but one voice. Neither can it well be otherwise where it appeared necessary to specify that at least one third of the deputies of terms should be able to read and write. But whether every thing possible is done on the part of the government to train up the communes to a more living, a more efficient existence ; whether, in proportion to the extent and the enlightenment of the communes, their rights and their independence are extended ; whether the citizens display so much intelligence, moderation, and impartiality, that the government can without apprehension allow them to act more freely — these and other questions of

equal importance are not easy, and least of all for a foreigner, to answer and to decide.

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### LETTER CIII.

Naples—Penal and Civil Laws—Statistics of Crime.

Naples, July 10th.

As the new Neapolitan code of laws is essentially copied from the French, I need not give any general account of it; I shall therefore merely notice some points, which are either treated differently or derive particular interest from their bearing upon country and people.

The civil code treats in three books and 2187 paragraphs of persons and things, the various kinds of property, and the way of acquiring it.

With respect to marriage, it has no civil validity (either for the parties themselves or for the children) if it is not contracted in the sight of the church, in the forms prescribed by the council of Trent. Before the wedding (*celebrazione*), the couple must, however, fulfil what is enjoined concerning the civil act (*atto civile*) for the execution of which civil officers are appointed. The law of the country limits its provisions concerning marriage to the civil and political effects; but leaves, on the other hand, all the duties that religion imposes untouched and unchanged. No marriage can lawfully take place

before the bridegroom is fourteen and the bride twelve years of age. The permission for complete divorces, granted in the time of the French, is abolished. The husband can only prefer a complaint on account of adultery. The guilty wife is confined from three months to two years in a house of correction. The adulterer is fined from 50 to 500 ducats. If the husband, after the expiration of his guilty wife's confinement, perceives no signs of penitence or amendment, he can send her for five years to a convent (*far la deimorare in un ritiro*). Inquiries concerning paternity are forbidden, but allowed relative to maternity.

No one who has children may give while living or bequeath at his death more than half his property to others. If a father dies intestate, the children inherit in equal shares.

Unless there is an express agreement to the contrary, every farmer has a right to renewal of his lease. The death of the farmer, or the sale of the land, does not dissolve the contract. The farmer has no right to remission, if the loss is less than half the yearly produce.

The principles and application of the administrative law (*droit administratif*) are copied from the French mode of proceeding.

The penal code awards, as capital punishments, beheading, hanging, and shooting. Theft is punished with imprisonment; murder, together with

robbery, with death. Fraudulent bankrupts are imprisoned in chains for from one to two years. He who pirates a book loses all the copies, and is confined for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances. Similar punishments are awarded to the managers of theatres who violate the property of authors. Whoever burns, breaks in pieces, or destroys the host, in contumely of the catholic religion, shall be hanged. Whoever teaches against the catholic doctrine in order to change it shall be banished from the kingdom for life. Ecclesiastics, who, in the performance of their official duties, criticize laws in the intention of exciting discontent against the government, shall be imprisoned for a longer or a shorter time.

Begging is punished with imprisonment ; firstly, when it is practised against the laws in places where there are public institutions for paupers ; secondly, when healthy persons beg from mere habit ; thirdly, when needy persons proceed to threats or acts against the authorities.\*

Participation in secret societies is punished with banishment, nay, even with death, in case of more heinous guilt, or an intention to overthrow the government.

The civil code treats in minute detail and with great predilection the new institution of arbitrators

\* All these useful provisions are not actually enforced in practice.

or mediators (*conciliatori*). The special purpose of their appointment is to strive with all their might to put an end to hatred and animosities among the inhabitants of the communes ; they are likewise, on application, to settle disputes as they arise. The arbitrator is moreover empowered to adjust finally personal disputes about moveable things up to the value of five ducats ; but he must not interfere in any contention about immoveable objects.

The proceedings in penal cases are upon the whole modelled after the French, and in many parts public ; but the institution of the jury has not been adopted.

According to the commercial code, all those are considered as bankrupts,

1. Whose household expenses, of which a written account is required to be kept, are declared to be extravagant ;

2. Who lose large sums at play, or merely in unsafe speculations ;

3. Who, though their debts exceed their property by 50 per cent., have, nevertheless, borrowed money and parted with goods at prices far below their value.

The cases in which a bankruptcy must be declared fraudulent are determined with the like severity.

The statistics of civil and penal jurisprudence, published by Parisio, the minister, in 62 and 45

tables, deserve particular and most honourable mention. They exhibit the number, the object, the treatment, the increase and decrease of law-suits, the time that they lasted, the nature of the decision, the activity of each authority, &c. which might furnish occasion for many interesting reflexions, if this were the proper place for them. I shall extract only the following: Among 5818 accused there were 5466 males, and 347 females, 99 under 14, and 13 between 71 and 80 years of age; 1293 between 26 and 30; 1236 between 21 and 25; 849 between 31 and 35; 753 between 15 and 20; 631 between 36 and 40. Among these 3000 were unmarried, 2421 married, 392 widowed persons. Again, 3316 were country-people, 1923 artisans and servants (*artigiani e domestici*), 364 proprietors of land (*possidenti*), 139 engaged in liberal arts (*arti liberali*) 71 civil officers. There is one accused to every 1020 persons, one condemned to 1438: 95 accused were sentenced to death: 104 accusations took place on account of offences against religion, 996 for slaying, (from parricide down to the accidental and unintentional taking of life) 431 for wounding, 86 for rape, 1703 for violations of property. There is one accused to 540 males, 8586 females, 1099 unmarried, 903 married, 1142 widowed persons. In Capitanata, there is one condemned to 607 persons, in Abrezzo ultra, one to 2611. The proportion of the

accused was one in 559 country-people, 199 artisans and servants, 508 occupied in liberal arts, 2819 landed proprietors. A new and instructive survey will be speedily published for the years 1834 to 183.

I have already remarked elsewhere that the greater or smaller number of crimes often indicates the state of jurisprudence rather than that of morals, and that external circumstances very often have the most important influence in this particular ; for instance, increase in the price of wood without any rise of wages for daily labour in the number of persons committed for stealing wood.

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#### LETTER CIV.

Naples—Population—Military Establishment—Navy.

Naples, July 11th.

MY communications have no claim to the character of a methodically arranged and scientifically progressive whole. I may, therefore, venture to treat to-day, for the sake of variety, of a different subject—of the country itself, its nature and population.\*

The kingdom of Naples on this side of the Strait contains 24,971 Italian square miles, and is divided

\* See Del Re's excellent description of the country.

into provinces, districts, circles, and communes. The greatest part of the country is mountainous and hilly; but there are plains, the most extensive of which, in Capitanata, comprehends nearly one-sixth of the kingdom.

The highest mountains, the Gran Sasso, of 9577 Paris feet, and the Majella of 8684 feet, are covered with perpetual snow. The coasts are 1144 Italian miles in length. Ebb and flood are not alike in all months; being lowest in August (1 foot, 7 inches), highest in December (2 feet, 2 inches). Storms do perhaps more damage to the coasts than the tides. There is no space for large rivers; but there is a greater discharge of water westward than eastward. Since the hills have been stripped of their wood, the quantity of water has decreased.

The largest of all the lakes is that of Fucino or Celano: it is 44 Italian miles in circumference, and has a superficies of about 100 square miles. The rain that falls annually on the east side amounts to 25 inches, and that on the west side to 39 inches, which is of essential consequence to agriculture, the nature of crops, and the cultivation of timber. Under the latitude of  $38^{\circ}$  (a little to the south of Reggio and Palermo) the sun rises on the 21st of June, at 4 hours 37 minutes; on the 1st of January, at 7 hours 15 minutes; and sets, on the 21st of June, at 7 hours 23 minutes, and on the 1st of January at 4 hours 45 minutes.



Of the whole surface of the kingdom about 14,100 square miles are in tillage and orchard, and an Italian square mile contains  $1012\frac{1}{2}$  moggios.

Moggios.

|                                                                  |           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Of that cultivated surface there belong to the crown about ..... | 87,000    |
| To public institutions, churches, and convents .....             | 258,000*  |
| To the communes .....                                            | 1,317,000 |
| To private persons .....                                         | 1,117,000 |

Another calculation by Rotondo gives the following results:—

Moggios.

|                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Superficial extent .....             | 25,275,000 |
| Towns, villages, waters, roads ..... | 5,275,000  |
| Cultivated land .....                | 25,000,000 |
| Of which in wood .....               | 2,881,000  |
| Uncultivated .....                   | 2,880,000  |

Since the separation of the kingdom from Spain, the population (which previously to that event was gradually declining) has been steadily increasing.

It amounted on this side of the Strait,

|                  |    |           |
|------------------|----|-----------|
| In the year 1781 | to | 4,709,000 |
| 1793             | „  | 4,828,000 |
| 1832             | „  | 5,818,000 |
| 1835             | „  | 5,946,000 |

\* In all cases, I choose from among the amounts, which vary extremely, such as after careful investigation appear to me to be most authentic, or at any rate least doubtful.

From the statistical accounts of the kingdom of Naples recently published, I extract the following: In the year 1838, there were born 13,228, of whom 6850 were boys, and 6378 girls. There died 12,993, 6962 of the male, and 6031 of the female sex. The population of the city amounted on the 1st of January 1839 to 336,537 persons. The number of suicides was 22, of whom 12 were foreigners; 9408 strangers arrived, and 8407 departed.

During the rule of Joseph and Joachim, the Neapolitan military institutions corresponded in all essentials with those of France, and these have been since retained in many principal points, but changed again and again in many particulars. I cannot enter by any means into these particulars, and least of all when they are connected with the technical department of the military science; the following on the other hand are of more general interest.

By virtue of a law of the 21st of June, 1833, the military establishment comprehends 6 generals, 14 marshals, and 30 brigadiers.

The infantry consists of two regiments of grenadier guards, one regiment of Jäger guards, 12 regiments of the line, 4 Swiss regiments, and 6 battalions of Jägers. There are 7 regiments of cavalry in peace, and 8 in war.

To every regiment of infantry belong in war

3 chaplains, 4 surgeons, 12 musicians, 1 tailor, 1 shoemaker, &c. The gendarmerie is constituted in a similar manner, and destined for purposes that are well known. According to another statement, the whole army contains in peace about 80,000, and in war 60,000 men.

The principles of recruiting and enlistment have not always been the same. According to a law of 1818, voluntary enlistment was combined with compulsory service. Those liable to the latter were divided into five classes, from the age of 21 to 25. On this side the strait three persons were to be levied out of every 2,000 souls, and one on the other side. The following were exempt from the conscription: civil officers who received a weekly salary of more than 15 dollars per month, married men, under 21 years of age, only sons, widowers with children, graduates, (*laureati*) who practised their profession, such as have obtained prizes (*premiati*) from academies and universities, members of ecclesiastical seminaries. Not more than one son must be taken out of any family. The levy takes place annually by lot, and substitutes are, under circumstances, accepted.

The laws of 1821 and 1823 add: the period of service for the infantry is 6, for the cavalry 8 years. From the completion of the 18th to the completion of the 25th year, every one is liable to the conscription. The minister of the interior determines the number

of recruits required from each province in proportion to its population, and the intendant fixes that to be furnished by the districts. The new law of 1834 fixes the time of service at five-years in the army, and five years in the reserve. Gendarmes, artillerymen, and volunteers, serve eight years, without reserve. In Naples the number of recruits levied is according to the population. There are seven classes, from 18 years and a day to 24 years and a day. The recruit must measure at least five feet. Several other exemptions have been added to those already specified, for instance, any person who is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a family. The only brother of an ecclesiastic or a monk is treated in almost all respects as an only son. The law enumerates no fewer than 145 different diseases, which exempt from military service.

In the year 1818, a provincial militia, or landwehr, was instituted. It was to comprise about the one hundredth part of the population, to attend specially to the preservation of public order and security, and in extraordinary cases to assist the regular army. From the 21st to the 35th year those belonging to this force were placed in the moveable companies, from the 36th to the 50th in the immoveable. Persons belonging to the following classes were more particularly bound to enter into the militia: proprietors of land, who pay at least 5 dollars land-tax, civil officers who receive a

salary of at least 50 dollars, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and in general persons of unblemished character. As this institution had not answered the expectations in the year 1820, it was suppressed in 1821, and has not since been restored. On the other hand, there is both in the towns and in the country a sort of safety-watch, which not unfrequently supports the gendarmerie, or is supported by the latter. The soldiers have at different times been usefully employed in public works, for instance, in paving the streets.

The royal navy consists of two ships of the line, four frigates, two cutters, and a number of smaller vessels, carrying together 496 guns. There are public institutions for the education of the officers.

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### LETTER CV.

Naples — Schools — Universities — Law relative to Theatres — Borboni Society — Duty on Imported Books — Inadequacy of Italian Universities.

Naples, July 13th.

I shall to-day give you some particulars concerning the laws relative to the schools, universities, &c., and in so doing I shall separate the time of Joseph and Joachim from the subsequent period. Those two kings issued (after the French fashion) abundance of ordinances on these subjects, partly from real concern for their interest, partly out of

ostentation, and for the sake of effect ; but, unluckily, very few of the provisions decreed by them were carried into execution, chiefly owing to the want of money.

According to a law of 1806, every place, the population of which exceeded 3,000 inhabitants, was to pay a schoolmaster and a schoolmistress out of the funds of the commune, to impart instruction in the christian religion, and the first rudiments of learning. It must not be taken for granted, as I have observed, that the object of this law was fulfilled, but rather that an existing want of schools caused it to be issued. In Naples, the law of 1808 directed 11 girls' schools to be established at the expence of the city. In places of the third class, (law of 1810) the parish priests may likewise be schoolmasters. The commune finds room, and pays six dollars per month, and the scholar one carlin monthly. The decurions may release not more than one fifth of the scholars from this payment. Parents and guardians are enjoined to send their children to school, into which all who have attained their fifth year must be admitted.

Above the schools there were to be, after the French fashion, gymnasiums, lyceums, and universities. By virtue of the first law of 1806, the university of Naples was to have five faculties, with thirty-three professorships, six for law, one for divinity, one for philosophical morality and re-

ligion, seven for medicine, &c. It abolished the lectures on the law of nations, (afterwards re-established) civil and ecclesiastical institutions, rudiments of theology, (*teologia primaria*). Thomas of Aquino, history of the councils, Roman literature, (Greek was previously out of the question) and general history. For all the philosophical sciences, properly so called, but one professor was granted, for history none; on the other hand, a professor for worms and microscopic animalculæ is specified. The salary of the professors was to be from 200 to 400 dollars per annum. They were required to hold three lectures a week, of at least an hour and a half each. In the first half hour the professor was to dictate, in the second to explain, and in the third to examine. The council, or senate, for the conduct of all university matters, was to consist of the royal prefect, six other royal civil officers, six professors, a presiding member, and a secretary.

These inadequate appointments and regulations were completed in the years 1811 and 1812. The faculty of the mathematical sciences was to have 9 professors, medicine 7, divinity 4, for doctrine, archaeology, ecclesiastical history, and exegesis. The faculty of law was to have seven professors; for the law of nature and nations, civil law, penal law, commercial law, law-practice, Roman law, statistics, and economy. The literary-philosophical faculty numbered ten professorships: for Italian

eloquence, Latin language and eloquence, Greek and Roman literature, Hebrew language, Arabic language, criticism and diplomacy, morality, chronology, ideology.

The university has a rector, and each faculty a dean, whom the king appoints from among three persons proposed to him for two years. The professors wear a particular dress and a medal; they have the *entrée* to court. They must not teach at one and the same time in a university and a gymnasium. A professor receives at first 115 lire (francs) per month; at the end of five years 150 lire, and of fifteen years 200 lire, which is the highest salary. Out of the fees paid for degrees, he may receive annually as much as 410 lire, and the dean twice that sum. The salary and the other receipts of the rector may amount to 4,400 lire. It was made obligatory on many persons to take the academical degrees. The students were to bring with them a whole series of papers and testimonials, and to commence their studies in the philosophical faculty. Every two months they were to obtain from the professors certificates that they had attended the lectures.

In every province there was to be at least one gymnasium (in Naples two,) with an income of 6000 dollars, and teachers for Latin, Greek, Italian, mathematics, logic, ethics and metaphysics, natural philosophy, geography, and chronology.



Of history no mention is made ; on the other hand, teachers of writing, drawing, fencing, dancing, and French, are specified. Such were the directions given on patient paper.

The superintendence of the theological seminaries was left in the hands of the bishops ; but the intendants were to be present at the public examinations, and no pupil was to be admitted till he had completed his 18th year.

The Royal Society of Sciences consisted, agreeably to a law of 1808, of three academies, for history and belles lettres with 20 members, for the exact sciences with 24, for the fine arts with 10. The first time the king appointed the members, subsequently they were to be elected by majority of votes. The president, likewise elected, was changed every six months. The members wore a light blue embroidered uniform.—In 1811, Joachim decreed that the Society should consist of two academies, the first for the sciences, the second for philology and fine arts. Each division might have 80 ordinary, 30 honorary, and 60 corresponding members.

For schools for the arts and trades and polytechnic schools, ordinances were at least drawn up. The libraries, pictures, statues, and other collections of the suppressed convents, were to be preserved and given up to the schools or other public institutions—an injunction which has frequently been evaded. A special commission was charged

to attend to the preservation and arrangement of the archives. A law of 1807 directs that no book shall be printed or imported without the permission of the minister of the police ; neither shall any be used as a groundwork in public instruction, without the permission of the minister of the interior ; or in seminaries and churches without the permission of the minister for religion.

In the year 1811 was issued a circumstantial law relative to theatres, essentially to this effect. A company of actors purposing to perform dramas or operas must first prove to the chief intendant that it has obtained the author's permission to do so. Every actor, singer, or dancer, receives from the chief intendant a patent, or appointment, in which it is specified whether he is qualified for theatres of the first and second class. These testimonials must moreover express his rank, that is to say, whether he is a first, second, or third rate actor, dancer, &c., or a mere figurant, and the like. These patents are countersigned by the police, and confer the right of performing in the provincial theatres also. Without the approbation of the intendant appointed by the king, no play can be performed, neither can a passport to go abroad be granted to any actor, singer, or dancer. Every manager of a theatre must state what resources he has at his command. If he becomes bankrupt, he cannot obtain a new licence without giving security. Without such

licence no itinerant company can perform or *improviser*. In Naples, the chief intendant and certain persons appointed for the purpose adjust all disputes between managers and actors ; in the provinces the intendant decides. Every company shall give annually two representations for the benefit of the poor.—I find that the theatre of San Carlo now receives a yearly allowance of 57,000, and the Florentino of 6000 dollars, but know not whether any further advantages may accrue to them from public institutions or from the court.

The re-action in the general opinion, which prevailed after the restoration of the old sovereignty, manifested itself also in the schools in regard to the choice of subjects and books of instruction, as well as in directions relative to prayers, beads, attending mass, and the like. In the smaller places, the clergyman is allowed to give instruction for a moderate compensation—an arrangement which one cannot but approve. This proviso, however, sounds rather strange: No salary can be assigned for a schoolmistress for the girls, in those communes where there is none that can read, write, and give instruction. It was no doubt the knowledge of this and other circumstances of the kind that gave occasion to a well-informed man to assert in the *Annals of Statistics* (xxiv. 315,) that in Lombardy ten times as much is done for the elementary instruction of the people as in the Neapolitan dominions. To

this, too, it is owing that in Naples there are so many who earn a livelihood by writing letters for others, and even for well-dressed persons who cannot write themselves. Galanti, in his Description of Naples (p. 211,) asserts that "out of about 100,000 inhabitants from 10 to 18 years of age, only four or five thousand were receiving instruction; while the proportion in the provinces was still more unfavourable."

Neither was enough done for the university. The salaries of the professors were fixed at from 360 to 460 dollars; with all the subsidiary sources of income, none exceeded 660 dollars. In 1819 the number of the professors of law was limited to four: two for Roman law, one for the civil code, and one for the four other codes, the law of nature, the law of nations, and political economy. The students are not admitted to any academical degree unless they produce testimonials that they have attended the churches. They pay no fees.

The Borboni Society superseded the Royal Society of Sciences. It consists of three divisions—1st, the Academy for Herculaneum and Archæology, with 20 members; 2nd, the Academy of Sciences, with 30; and 3rd, the Fine Arts, with 10 ordinary members. At elections, at least two-thirds of the members must be present, and at least half of the votes and one more must be favourable. For every attendance at the meetings, and every paper acknow-

ledged to possess merit, a medal of the value of six dollars is awarded.

Complaints are made, (and as it appears, justly,) not only of the severity of the temporal and spiritual censorship, but also of the duty on books. Of every native illustrated work five copies must be delivered, of every other eight copies. Books imported from abroad formerly paid an ad valorem duty of only two per cent ; now every octavo volume imported pays 3 carlines, every quarto 6, and every folio 9 carlines—an enormously high duty, while in Prussia, about 4 carlines only (half a dollar) are paid for a whole hundred-weight of imported books. Nay, I have been credibly informed that a copy of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, every expence and charge for which has been paid as far as Terracina, nevertheless costs 600 florins per year in Messina.

Many reasons have been assigned in justification of these heavy duties, but all equally absurd. They are imposed, it is alleged, to encourage the home book-trade ; but the impolicy of such extravagant protecting duties has been long proved, and the importation of books from abroad, mostly printed in foreign languages, cannot have any effect on Neapolitan printing or not printing. Government wishes, we are further told, to prevent the people from laying out money on bad books—an absurd precaution, and a silly guardianship. It wishes to prevent the introduction of bad and immoral books ;

as if there were not likewise good and moral books, or the degree of goodness and excellence could be ascertained by the size, &c. In point of fact, a general hatred of science and literary cultivation, which conceals itself behind pretexts of all sorts, lies at the bottom of this system ; for the most arbitrary absolutism might devise other and more suitable means for separating the good from the bad, and excluding the latter. None has any longer the courage to defend these imposts ; none has the courage and the firmness to abolish them.

A law of 1822 relative to excavations deserves mention. These researches must not be made without permission, neither must the articles found be sold or repaired. A particular commission decides on the value of the objects, and whether they shall be purchased or not.

The annual lectures at the universities commence on the 5th of November, and end on the 30th of June. No lectures are delivered on certain saints' days and birthdays, in the festival weeks, and on Thursdays throughout the years.

I shall not repeat the observations so often made on the Italian universities. History and public law are wholly wanting, philosophy, properly so called, in a great measure, and the theological faculty is scarcely deserving of that name. The material sides of science are universally placed conspicuously in the fore-ground, and the intel-

lectual thrust into the back-ground. What is deficient in theology at the university, the episcopal seminaries are intended to supply, and wherever want of historical knowledge and sagacity manifests itself, the police has endeavoured to direct or to drive all stray sheep into the track that it would have them pursue. As this, however, may sound rather too derogatory and unfavourable, I shall quote a passage from the temperate Bianchini's History of the Finances (III. 814.) He says: "The instruction of the lower classes is extremely trifling, (*pochissima*) and the other classes rather gain instruction for themselves than derive it from the public institutions. It is calculated that, in several of the provinces, scarcely one in 150 or 160 persons goes to school to learn to read and write."

With this is connected the remarkable circumstance that even the sciences of the faculties are studied more out of than in the university, and taught partly by university professors, partly by other persons. Those professors, I was assured by a well-informed man, are obliged to seek these aids to keep themselves from starving; and a student added that those lectures at the university, for which a scudo per month is paid, are much better attended than such as are gratuitous. On account of the great number of holidays, too, the progress made there is but slow; whereas a student gains time by means of private lectures, and can obtain

the academical degrees without having ever been at the university, if he but proves at the examination that he possesses the requisite knowledge and punctually pays the fees.

Thus the imperfection of the principal university causes recourse to be had to the bad substitute of many petty universities, by which completeness of the plan of instruction and comprehensiveness and solidity of study must assuredly suffer.

Loud and general are the complaints of the levity and partiality with which professorships at the university are conferred frequently on the most ignorant persons, to the exclusion of truly clever and qualified men. Under such circumstances, it must be regarded as an essential benefit that it is accurately determined by a law, obtained with some difficulty by Mazzetti, Archbishop of Seleucia, what publicly acknowledged merits a professor must possess, or to what oral or written examination each candidate must submit. The defects of this mode of proceeding might easily be demonstrated ; but it is a point gained, inasmuch as secret intrigues and interested patronage are done away with, because questions, answers, examination, and decision, are public, nay, circulated everywhere by means of the press.

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## LETTER CVI.

Naples—Agriculture—Corn—Trade—Forests.

Naples, July 14th.

ALLOW me to lay before you to-day some desultory observations on agriculture and the management of the forests in the Neapolitan dominions. The abolition of the feudal system, the sale of the possessions of the convents and the domains, as well as many other laws, could not fail to have great influence on agriculture. Thus, for instance, a great deal of landed property was transferred from the hands of indolent people of quality into those of active persons, and the number of independent proprietors increased. Numberless services and restrictions were put an end to, and hence arose the possibility of a more free application and greater productiveness.

This new liberty again had its dark side, not only in regard to the destruction of wood, which I shall notice presently, but in many other respects. Thus the new owners were frequently in want of the requisite capital; they fell into the hands of usurers and speculators, and were soon obliged to dispose of their recently-acquired property. Wealthy purchasers, on the other hand, who could

not or did not choose to manage their estates themselves, trusted to incompetent persons, and thereby frequently sustained a loss that deterred them from further attempts.

Economical societies which were established were not wholly unproductive of beneficial effects, but could not conquer the repugnance of the great to study agriculture, and to pursue it themselves. Hence a writer of this country\* observes: "The country life, as it is called, of the Neapolitans consists merely in breathing a different air and spending more money than in the city. More numerous parties, more ruinous play, more magnificent entertainments, more expensive diversions, in every thing the reverse of what country life ought to be—in such things it is that the *villegiatura* consists." Goldoni has represented and satirized this perverted practice in much the same manner.

As the right mode of managing the estates of the nobles has not yet been discovered, so the management of the property of the communes still leaves much to be desired. At any rate, the laws and the custom of letting them for a short time is attended with considerable disadvantages; and, besides, they generally get into the hands of the persons who have the greatest influence in the place,

\* Galanti, *Napoli*, 220.

and who exert it in their own favour, or in that of others.

Peace and war, internal disturbances, want of a market, &c., have likewise operated detrimentally on agriculture, and not less so the vacillating principles concerning the corn-trade. Hence Pecchio says:\* “In Tuscany and Lombardy, the happy perseverance of writers has produced a more liberal legislation on the corn trade; but in the kingdom of Naples, the old prejudices continued unconquerable. From 1401 to the end of the 18th century, the trade in corn was always conducted there on false principles. All sorts of the worst restrictions and precautionary measures succeeded one another; magazines, depots, the farming of the trade in bread and flour, fixed prices for corn, &c.—and the inevitable consequences were scarcity, dearth, and the decline of agriculture.”

The government long conceived that the best way to counteract these evils was to command accurate statements to be rendered of all existing stocks, and to fix how much each was at liberty to sell, and how much he was required to store away. This system gave rise to numberless checks and restrictions, and the upshot of all these efforts was—a rise in the price of bread. Though many errors of this kind were relinquished, nay, though at times the corn-trade was suddenly thrown quite open, fresh

\* *Storia dell' economia pubblica*, p. 226.

apprehensions continually arose, and the import and export of horses, horned cattle, oil, and corn, were (even down to the present day) sometimes allowed, at others prohibited, which unsettled state of things opposes prodigious obstacles to the execution of agricultural plans.\*

It was in Sicily, in particular, that the establishment of general corn-magazines, (*caricatoji*), long found strenuous advocates, and it was not till very recently, as I shall show bye-and-bye, that it was relinquished; now, on the other hand, houses for lending money upon corn, (*monti frumentarii*) are in great vogue. The communes usually raise, by means of additional centimes to the land-tax, a capital for the purchase of corn, which is advanced to the poor for seed, and repaid at harvest-time, with an increase of about six per cent. In this way, it is true, an urgent extraordinary necessity may sometimes be relieved; but, upon the whole, the proceeding is too complicated, tedious, and costly; besides, such a practice has in general the effect of discouraging a disposition to economy and foresight, and of leading men to the consumption beforehand of the growing crop, instead of defraying the current expenses out of the savings of the past.

The debts in which most of the nobility are in-

\* Agriculture is nevertheless in the most flourishing state in some parts of the kingdom, for instance in Terra di Lavoro.

volved, operate in a similar manner ; nay, through their own fault and defective laws, they are almost without credit. If the nobility are too idle or too proud to follow professions which produce and bring in something ; if other classes outstrip them in this respect, while they continue to live beyond their income—their ruin must be inevitable. The laws relative to mortgages, valuations, sales by auction, are so one-sided and defective, the proceedings against debtors so difficult and dilatory, that capitalists are shy of lending money on landed property. Or such incredibly high interest is paid, that no sort of employment of the capital can make a return for it. A loan institution, on the plan of the Prussian, and conducted with due caution, could not fail to be of the greatest benefit to the country.

The suppression of the feudal system and feoffments of trust, the sale of the domains and of monastic property, the division of the lands of the communes, &c., proved, as I have observed, extremely beneficial to industry and agriculture : they led, at the same time, to the felling of woods and the conversion of the land to tillage. It is true that many of them were managed in the worst manner, or wholly unproductive ; it is true that the turning them into tillage was in many places a permanent advantage. But in the years between 1807 and 1811 most people thought only

of the coming day and of immediate profit; hence the reckless felling of timber, and the introduction of tillage in tracts lately occupied by forests, and mostly situated on hills. The mischievous consequences were but too soon apparent. After a few favourable harvests, the soil, left unmanured, was found to be exhausted; it was exposed to the redoubled violence of storms and torrents of rain, sudden inundations and long drought, failure of the springs, the washing away of the mould, the rolling down of stones, to the great injury of the lands that lay below.

For these and such like reasons it was at first forbidden to turn the sites of woods into tillage without permission; and a still more general law was issued on the 18th of October, 1819, by which the superintendence over all the forests in the kingdom (of course those belonging to the king, the churches, the communes, and private individuals) was committed to a special board, subordinate, however, to the ministry of the finances and the interior. No proprietor of forests, it is further said, shall fell timber without permission, or break up the ground either for tillage or for new plantations. The conversion of the ground to the purposes of tillage shall only take place,

1. When the site is so level, or has so little slope that there is no reason whatever for apprehension on account of the lands and roads situated below it;

2. When the extent of the woodland is insignificant, when it is separated from other woods, and is surrounded by land in tillage ;

3. When the soil appears to be permanently fertile ; and

4. When the province abounds in timber.

This law found many panegyrists, but likewise many opponents. People complained of useless requisitions, erroneous premises, vexatious interference with property ; hence the efforts to keep secret what was done, to hold back evidence of transgression, to quash the sentence against convicted persons.

A new law of the 21st of August, 1826, was issued to put an end to these complaints and abuses. The superintendence of the authorities over private woods was, therefore, limited solely to the preservation and improvement of them, and the duty, which the government had previously levied on the fall of private timber, as a compensation for the costs of management, was remitted. Woodland shall not be tilled without permission ; and this shall not be granted for plots which have a rapid declivity. Woodland which has been turned to tillage with or without permission, since 1815, shall be again planted with trees, if the site is steep and injury arises from the change to the lands situated lower down. The same must be done if the conversion to tillage took place before 1815, and the

owner fails within two years to point out means for preventing the threatened mischief. The forest officers make the necessary inquiries on the subject ; but the intendant decides respecting tillage or planting. Forests which are not yet divided, and are become absolutely free property, (whether belonging to churches, foundations, communes, or private persons,) remain under the superintendence of the state, and are treated and managed as woods of the state. Irregular falls of wood shall no where take place, and minute directions relative to their time and extent, pasturage, &c. shall be enforced.

This law seems calculated to remedy many evils. It is likewise asserted, (and, it is to be hoped, truly,) that the cleared ground may be again planted and covered with wood at a small expense, if only the cattle, and especially the goats, are kept long enough from the hills. The immoderate conversion of woodland to tillage seems now to be checked, but by no means the immoderate felling of timber.

It is wrong to assume that no want of wood can take place, because it will always be produced in proportionate quantity to the demand : for this production requires many years ; whereas the owner derives more profit from cutting it down than from sacrificing his momentary advantage to the interests of posterity and the general welfare.

Nay, it is maintained that this well-meant law has had a directly contrary result, and afforded occa-



sion for procuring a sort of authorization of the grossest abuses from thoughtless or interested officers. The very government (in contradiction with itself) even furnishes occasion for the destruction of a great deal of wood, since, for instance, it lays a heavy duty on the importation of coal, or prohibits the exportation of ship-timber, which is then used for fuel or for making charcoal, to the diminished profit of the owner.

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### LETTER CVII.

Naples—The Domains—The Tavoliere in Apulia—Roads—Commerce—Prince of Cassaro.

Naples, July 15th.

To the preceding accounts I subjoin to-day some particulars concerning the management of the domains and the very peculiar Tavoliere of Apulia.

Immediately after the accession of Joseph to the throne, a new board was instituted for the domains, and the management, not only of the estates of the crown, but of all vacant church property and all the possessions of the dissolved monasteries, was assigned to it. The domains were sold or let at a rent, or farmed to the highest bidder. In the latter case the produce was calculated according to the amount last given, or by the land-tax, or by the income of the last two years.

The Tavoliere of Apulia is a mostly level plain belonging to the crown, of about 74 Italian square miles, (about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  German, and 95 English) which has for ages been used only for pasturage, nay, was not allowed to be applied to any other purpose. So far back as 1447, Alphonso I. issued circumstantial laws relative to the division of the ground, the levy of rents, the number of the cattle to be driven upon it, superintendence, mortgages, authorities, &c. In summer, the herds generally ascended into the Abruzzi, and in winter they went down again into the Tavoliere, whereby (as in Spain) much injury was done to husbandmen and proprietors. Frequent but unsuccessful attempts were made to remedy these evils; but upon the whole the old system was retained, according to which the use of the ground was always farmed for one year (or in more recent times for six years) for depasturing cattle, and every species of tillage was forbidden. Petitions to permit the latter have been invariably rejected ever since the time of Charles V., upon different pretexts, for instance, because then the capital would run short of butchers' meat, and the just proportion between cattle-breeding and tillage be destroyed. Such continued to be the compulsory application of a tract of land in Europe, as though it had been one of the steppes of Asia; and the transition from the pastoral life to agriculture, or the combination

things numberless reasons were assigned and numberless remedies proposed, only not the right reason and the right remedy.

On the 13th of January, 1817, appeared a new law relative to the Tavoliere, which abolished that which was sensible and beneficial in the former one and retained, or even aggravated, all that was absurd and detrimental. The permission to acquire property and credit by a redemption of the rent was repealed; the permission to cultivate the land as the occupant pleased was repealed: on the other hand, the unreasonably high rent was not only retained but even raised. In order to keep up the due and natural proportion between pasture and arable land in the kingdom, no one was ever to have more than a fifth part of his land, upon the penalty of paying a tenfold rent. Whoever had done this (under the sanction of the former law) was declared an illegal possessor, &c.

The analysis of the law would prove how Matteo de Augustinis says of it, that it is a mass of prescripts which betray ignorance of the true theories of administration and political economy.

The distress and the complaints in the Tavoliere continually increasing, so that the government applied to various persons for their opinions. Numerous printed works on this subject produced by the writers, and, in this particu-

of the two modes of life, was regarded as a retrograde step and a folly.

At all this the French could not fail to take great offence, and so early as the 21st of May, 1806, a law was issued which completely changed the state of the Tavoliere. Instead of the farming for a time, a fixed rent was to be substituted, and the same was to be paid at certain periods, calculated at four per cent. on the capital. Every one was allowed to apply the land to pasturage or tillage, just as he pleased. The last-mentioned circumstance and the transition from insecure possession for a time to fixed property were a praiseworthy emancipation and an essential improvement. But even in this measure compulsory clauses sufficiently betrayed interested motives. Yet these appeared in a much worse shape, in a shape that totally destroyed all the good recently effected, when the rent to be paid was increased in various ways to such a degree that a carro, which till then had in fact paid but 24 dollars, was required to pay 66, including the new ground-rent. Whoever did not within 20 days declare his willingness to accept all these conditions was to forfeit his right and be put out of possession. Necessity, fear, habits, new and exaggerated hopes, silenced almost all opposition.

Till the restoration of King Ferdinand, however, partition, cultivation, and improvement, had not made the expected advances; and for this state of

things numberless reasons were assigned and numberless remedies proposed, only not the right reason and the right remedy.

On the 13th of January, 1817, appeared a new law relative to the Tavoliere, which abolished all that was sensible and beneficial in the former one, and retained, or even aggravated, all that was absurd and detrimental. The permission to acquire full property and credit by a redemption of the rent was repealed; the permission to cultivate the land as the occupant pleased was repealed: on the other hand, the unreasonably high rent was not only retained but even raised. In order to keep up the due and natural proportion between pasture and arable land in the kingdom, no one was ever to till more than a fifth part of his land, upon the penalty of paying a tenfold rent. Whoever had done this (under the sanction of the former law) was declared an illegal possessor, &c.

A minute analysis of the law would prove how justly Matteo de Augustinis says of it, that it is a shapeless mass of prescripts which betray ignorance of all true theories of administration and political economy.

The distress and the complaints in the Tavoliere kept continually increasing, so that the government at length applied to various persons for their opinions. The numerous printed works on this subject prove the sincerity of the writers, and, in this particular

case, the liberality of the censors ; but their intrinsic value differs exceedingly. While some of those publications display correct scientific views and great practical knowledge, others have not yet advanced to the rudiments of the theory, and descant on what are proposed as practical plans, though manifestly impracticable, nay even absurd. Thus some are of opinion that the owners of the land should first drain it, plant trees, purify the air, build houses, stables, and cattle-sheds, to pattern, and then apply for permission to till the ground. This permission, they say, can only be granted when the mathematical and necessary proportion between pasture and arable land is not likely to be deranged, and it is found that the future improvement will not produce deterioration in other places. And this stupid interference is recommended by people who talk at the same time of extension of liberty !

Let every one do what he pleases with his land, let him redeem his rent or not as he thinks proper : general calculations of the supply of butchers' meat required by Naples, and the quantity which the Tavoliere should be bound to furnish, are silly and ridiculous. That improved agriculture increases the number of cattle seems to have escaped the penetration of those Solomons ; and still less do they seem to have considered that every occupant of land arranges the due proportion of both branches better than a central board in the capital.

So long ago as 1832, the proportions had been scientifically so well discussed and practically so completely demonstrated that an essential modification and improvement might and ought to have been made in the mischievous law. Nothing, however, was done, and the Tavoliere is still in the same wretched condition as ever. A bank established in 1834, for the purpose of lending money to landowners there at the rate of 6 to 7 per cent. has neither relieved them nor done any good for itself; and this certainly tends to illustrate the main point, the *noli me tangere* — namely : —

1. That unless occupants are permitted to apply the land to what purpose they please, and to redeem the rent, no real improvement can take place; and

2. That, before these amendments, no landowner in the Tavoliere can obtain money upon mortgage or loan, so long as

3. The unjustly imposed and exorbitant rent is continued. Unless a reasonable reduction, suited to circumstances, take place, the occupant will always find a want of advances and capital, and the creditor of security.

Notwithstanding the just censure which must be pronounced on this and on many other things, even rigid critics admit that, since 1806, agriculture, the rearing of cattle, manufactures, trade, roads, &c., are essentially improved—a consequence of the natural quality of the land, of native industry, of

peace, and of the legislation. The latter, however, has sometimes fallen into great errors, and sometimes even nursed and cherished these with particular fondness. But it is true that the plans and views of those who are out of the sphere of administration, and supply it with good advice, are by no means always consistent. The same man, for instance, who complains that the breed of sheep is no longer improved by the importation of merinos, hopes to improve that of horses by a prohibition to import those animals, and thanks the government for having issued such a prohibition.\*

In like manner very many (and particularly the government in fixing the rates of duties) entertain the erroneous opinion, that high protecting duties and monopolies alone can give prosperity to native manufactures. Of the great experiments proving the very reverse, which have of late been made in Prussia and in Germany, people here either do not know, or will not know, any thing. The cloth, cotton, and iron manufactures, (conducted mostly by foreigners,) have recently made advances, partly it is true by artificial means and at the cost of the purchasers, of whom, perversely enough, the Neapolitan legislators invariably think much less than of the sellers.

\* So high a duty is irrationally imposed on the importation of foreign machinery, that a plough or a spinning-wheel is not to be procured without great expence and annoyance.



It is well known how deficient the Neapolitan dominions were till lately in good practicable roads—a consequence in part of supineness and inactivity. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten what great difficulties there frequently are here to contend with—intersected ground, few plains, no long ridges of hills or valleys, but all up and down, clumps of hills, deep ravines, mountain torrents, &c. At length science has gradually learned to conquer these obstacles: formerly many errors prevailed, and much money was thrown away. Thus some of the older roads are too steep and carried right across mountains, on which account heavy loads cannot be transported upon them. Prejudice and self-interest, moreover, produced their obstructions: thus, for instance, most were desirous that a road should run very near to their lands, but yet not touch them. Lastly, too much regard was paid to the line of the old roads, and the situation of old inns. There are three sorts of roads: 1, Such as are constructed and maintained at the king's expence, for instance, those to Rome, Apulia, the Abbruzzi, Calabria; 2, provincial, constructed at the expence of the provinces; 3, communal roads. Frequently, when the province has constructed a road, government has undertaken to maintain it. This maintenance is usually farmed out upon certain conditions, but it is not usual to levy any toll.

Before 1806, almost all the commerce was carried

on in Genoese and French vessels. It was rarely that Neapolitan ships ventured beyond a coasting voyage, so far as Dalmatia, and never out of the Mediterranean. Now they sail to the Baltic, nay, even to America and the East Indies. In place of the numberless inconvenient petty tolls on navigation and commerce, a simpler and more sensible system of taxation was adopted. Respecting the tonnage of the Neapolitan shipping in former and later times, statements differ widely : to a certainty it has much increased. During the year 1838, the number of vessels that sailed from Naples was 1215 ; of these 976 were Neapolitan, 81 French, 34 Tuscan, and 92 English.

The commercial treaties formerly concluded on erroneous and now antiquated principles, need revision and modification ; for instance the clause granting to England, Spain, and France, a remission of 10 per cent. on all commercial duties ; which indeed would be the very reverse of a preference to natives, if the Neapolitan government had not endeavoured to favour them still more in another way.

In the recent negotiations respecting the modification of the system hitherto prevailing, and the conclusion of a commercial treaty with England, all the old prejudices have again been broached, and all the old errors defended, though long since refuted by solid science and comprehensive experience. So much the greater merit has that illustrious states-

man, who has the patience and courage to cleanse this Augean stable, and to lead his fellow countrymen into a new and more prosperous track. He has victoriously demonstrated—1. That the former treaties with France, England, and Spain, as well as the advantages and premiums granted to natives, were injudicious and detrimental, and that the advances of commerce were not owing to them, but in spite of them; 2, that those treaties are unfair to other powers, whose flags are scared away (to the injury of the producers,) and call for reprisals (to the injury of the merchants); 3, that it is unjust and at the same time silly, to strive to make a profit in commerce solely by injury done to others and by monopoly; 4, that now-a-days the outdoing others in duties, chicanery, and taking advantage, cannot be the foundation of commercial treaties, but frankness, regard to mutual interests, and real reciprocity.

If the prince of Cassaro succeeds in carrying out these views, to the benefit of his country, that great monster (which has other fathers), namely, the Sicilian sulphur monopoly, must die a deserved death. That preponderance, too, will decrease which (owing to more rational principles and greater activity) the Sardinian states now exercise over the Neapolitan.

## LETTER CVIII.

Naples—Finances—Taxes; on Land; on Trades; on Consumption — Revenues and Debts of the State — Revenue and Expenditure of the city of Naples.

Naples, July 16th.

HAVING treated of a great many other subjects, I must at length notice the taxes and the financial system. One might say—*Per tot ambages tendimus in Latium*—but that the financial system is not a very agreeable Latium. Its mazes, its blunders, its diseases, afford no pleasure to the professional man, still less to the amateur, who dislikes nothing so much as *ennui*. Penetrated with this conviction, I will throw the greatest part of my extracts overboard, and get over the ground that is not to be avoided as rapidly as possible.

It would be very wrong to assume that, till the year 1806, a wise system of taxation and finance prevailed in the Neapolitan states, and that revolutionary perverseness has since established itself. On the contrary, the old system of taxation had the greatest defects; but of anticipations, debts, arbitrary proceedings of various kinds, a superabundance. With the accession of the French domination some things became worse than before, others, on the contrary, much better; almost all, without exception, were re-modelled. But I must, *nolens volens*, enter more into detail. The new sources

of income were, land-tax, tax on trades, personal tax, customs and excise, stamp and register tax, monopolies, (salt, tobacco, playing cards, gunpowder, saltpetre,) post, lottery.

So early as the 8th of August, 1806, a great number of petty taxes on land were abolished, and the levy of a general land-tax was ordered. Those pre-existing taxes were certainly of very different origin, had little connexion, were unequal in proportion and inconvenient to levy; but, upon the whole, they were moderate, and the payers were accustomed to them. Charles III. had, so far back as his time, directed the preparation of a general tax-book, but the opposition of the privileged orders prevented the execution of the plan. Now, not only was no regard paid to such opposition, but it was evidently a main object to saddle the estates formerly belonging to the church and the nobles with the new tax, and thereby to increase the revenue. It was easy to say—The clear produce shall be calculated, (mostly according to the then high ten years' average,) and a fifth part of it paid as land-tax. In three winter months, amount, quality, quantity, were not be calculated, and so errors, deceptions, injustices, crept in in such number and to such an extent, that the amendments made at different periods, though they diminished the defects, yet could not wholly extirpate them. Nay, to put an end to a still greater evil, the constant uncer-

tainty of property, it was at length decreed that no further alteration in the land-tax should take place before the year 1860. It produces annually the sum of 6,150,000 Neapolitan ducats (dollars). The following additions to it are levied :—

- 10 gram for the debt of the state,
- 7 ... for fixed provincial expenses,
- 2 ... for variable provincial expenses,
- 2 ... for communal expenses,
- $\frac{1}{2}$  ... for the gendarmerie.

At any rate a very considerable portion of the Neapolitan taxes falls upon landed property.

The new tax on trades was (with the abolition of other taxes of that kind) modelled after the French, subsequently much altered, and in 1815 totally repealed. The stamp and registration duties have on the other hand been retained, after undergoing many alterations.

The productiveness and the defects of the government monopolies I need not again discuss. A plan for substituting a mill-tax instead of the revenue from tobacco has not been carried into effect. The monopoly of playing cards is also continued; games of hazard, on the contrary, are prohibited upon pain of being fined from 50 to 500 ducats. The salt-tax has not always been equally high. An attempt was made in 1807 to force the purchase of a certain quantity miscarried. The regulations are still burdensome, the punishments severe, and the prohibi-

tion of the private and easy preparation of sea-salt oppressive.

To the inhabitants of Naples snow, or water cooled with snow, is nearly as necessary as salt. The supply of the capital is farmed to certain persons, and it is prescribed what stock shall always be kept (at 4 grani the rotolo) in the 60 to 65 principal shops. Considerable penalties are imposed for every hour in which it is not to be had.

It were to be wished that the government had manifested the same laudable concern about the lotto as about the sale of snow. Ever since 1628 this evil has existed in various shapes, but since 1800 it has exceedingly increased, though out of the total receipts (about two millions of ducats) not half is given back, but levied as the most pernicious of taxes from the misled multitude and retained. The capital has addicted itself most to this passion. Naples pays 12 twentieths of the sum raised by it; the district of Naples and Terra di Lavoro, 4; Principato citra, 1; and all the other provinces, 3.

As in all other countries, so in Naples there is a whole series of customs' laws, with many, partly voluntary, partly compulsory, modifications. Before 1809, the mercantile system, as it is called, preponderated; but the customs' tariff exhibited neither science nor unity. The law of the 24th of February, 1809, had the same defects, and merely united a great number of small, frequently local, duties into

one tax. Hence arose, in many cases, singular and unfair rates; thus a dozen oil-skin hats were charged 1 ducat 31 grani, the hundred weight of raw cow-hides, 1 ducat 13 grani, &c. A second law, of the 10th of May, 1810, paved the way to the abolition of all internal tolls and all duties on coast-navigation. The third law, of the 6th of November, 1810, was a consequence of the fatal continental system. Laws of the 20th of January, 1815, and the 20th of April, 1818, abolished this tyranny, but substituted no rational system in its stead. Since that time government has sought to accomplish a double end by the customs' tariffs of 1823 and 1824—complete freedom of trade in the interior and on the coasts, as well as protection of the public revenue and manufactures, and maritime commerce against foreigners. The export of all produce and manufactures is therefore in general free or very lightly taxed; but the import duty is still in part immoderately high. Thus, for instance, paper pays from 30 to 40 per cent. of the value, musical instruments 30 per cent., cloth 18 per cent., &c. The duty on furs amounts to 35, and on handkerchiefs to 67. The duties are levied either by quantity or weight. Pains are taking to simplify these things, and to profit by the light that science and experience have of late thrown upon the system of the customs, and especially upon the high monopolizing protecting duties. Hence the duty on the exportation of oil



is likely to undergo an alteration. It produced in 1821—1823, at 42 grani the stajo, 1,304,000 ducats; 1830—1832, on smaller quantities, 1,939,000.

In Sicily this duty is considerably lower. The profit upon smuggling is still so high that the dread of severe punishment is not sufficient to deter from it.

The customs are farmed for a certain sum, and the surplus receipts, after deducting a certain percentage, are divided between the government and the farmer. The farmer exercises over the king's receiving officers a superintendence and control, which are considered safer than those of boards appointed for the purpose. Such distrust, such an anomaly, must furnish sufficient proof of the worthlessness of these custom-house officers, of which every traveller daily finds abundant opportunity to convince himself.

The tolls on consumption in the towns (exclusively of Naples) are computed at the following round sums :

|                                                            |           |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| On Butchers' meat .....                                    | 193,000   | ducats. |
| Fish .....                                                 | 39,000    | ...     |
| Snow .....                                                 | 15,000    | ...     |
| Wine .....                                                 | 351,000   | ...     |
| Oil .....                                                  | 5,000     | ...     |
| Flour .....                                                | 664,000   | ...     |
| Cheese, salted meat, &c. ....                              | 20,000    | ...     |
| Other transient nonopolies and<br>voluntary payments ..... | 199,000   | ...     |
| Total                                                      | 1,490,000 | ...     |

The mill-tax imposed in 1826 was reduced one half in 1831, but was still attended with so many difficulties (on account of the hand-mills, the poor, and supervision) that the required or expected amount was chiefly raised in a different way, and not by the mill-tax.

The government levies all the taxes on consumption in Naples, and pays the city annually a fixed sum of 260,000 ducats.

For the amount of the total revenue of the state I find abundance of figures, but nobody to vouch for their accuracy, as the truth is either purposely concealed, or alterations in the financial system make such changes as cannot be gathered from the principal sums. Upon the whole, the revenue and the expenditure have kept progressively increasing, and the latter has but too often exceeded the former.

The revenues are said to have amounted in

|      |    |            |         |
|------|----|------------|---------|
| 1790 | to | 16,708,000 | ducats. |
| 1810 | „  | 14,488,000 | ...     |
| 1812 | „  | 16,464,000 | ...     |
| 1820 | „  | 20,354,000 | ...     |
| 1823 | „  | 24,061,000 | ...     |
| 1829 | „  | 26,777,000 | ...     |
| 1832 | „  | 27,442,000 | ..      |

This increase was by no means the result of increasing prosperity alone, but mostly the consequence of augmented taxes and burdens. No sooner had the government got into a better track than the

revolution of 1820 very much diminished the receipts and greatly increased the expenditure; so that loan upon loan followed, bad speculations and swindling transactions on 'Change gained ground, and yet the large yearly deficit was not covered.

It is impossible to express one's self on this subject with more sincerity and concern than the law of the 11th of January, 1831. The preamble to it says, "We were desirous to make ourselves acquainted with the Neapolitan financial system in all its nakedness. Lamentable as it is, we will make no secret of it. This legislative sincerity is worthy of us and of the high-minded people whom Providence has called us to govern. The law of the 28th of May, 1826, left room to hope for the restoration of the equilibrium of expenses and receipts; but this hope has been disappointed. In consequence of the events of 1820, there arose a deficit, which has been yearly increasing by means of the interest. Under the mysterious name adopted in the modern financial theories of a floating debt, there existed an evil which still continued to be a debt, and so much the more burdensome as the resources for a permanent diminution were wanting, and the payment of the sums falling due could not always be deferred. This debt amounts to 4,345,000 ducats, and the deficit is still more than a million ducats."

In regard to the debt of the state, two other unpleasant circumstances are to be taken into account.

In the first place, two-thirds of the debt are due to foreigners, and the interest must of course be sent abroad; in the second, no diminution of the interest is possible, because in the country the rate of interest is so much higher that every one would be glad to accept the proffered capital.

So much, however, is certain, that, during the reign of the present frugal monarch, a great deal has been done for improving the finances of the state. This cannot well be shown here in detail. I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting the estimates for the years

|                                                                        | 1834.<br>Ducats. | 1838-9.<br>Ducats. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Total revenue . . . . .                                                | 26,150,000       | 26,670,000         |
| Council of Ministers }<br>(expenditure.)                               | 40,000           | 44,000             |
| Foreign Affairs . . . . .                                              | 259,000          | 251,000            |
| Ministry of Justice . . . . .                                          | 628,000          | 727,000            |
| Ministry of Religion . . . . .                                         | 40,000           | 40,000             |
| Finances, royal house- }<br>hold, and debt of the }<br>state . . . . . | 14,490,000       | 14,236,000         |
| Interior . . . . .                                                     | 1,846,000        |                    |
| War . . . . .                                                          | 7,200,000        |                    |
| Navy . . . . .                                                         | 1,330,000        | 1,721,000          |
| Police . . . . .                                                       | 205,000          | 200,000            |

Accustomed as we are to see in modern Europe states exhausted and ruined by immoderate war-

expenses even in time of peace, still we are struck to find that in Naples these run away with upwards of 8½ millions of dollars,\* while a paltry sum indeed is allotted to the ministry of religion. The conjecture that this is abundantly provided for in some other way finds no confirmation, when we turn to what has been said concerning the school system, and to what I have still to remark upon the poor. The state debt and the royal establishment take away a great deal (the latter about 2 millions); so that, what with the deductions occasioned by the improvident wastefulness of the past, and the sums expended out of fear for the future, not one-fourth of the present revenue of the state is actually applied to the purposes of the present. Is it matter of surprise that the living generation should often be dissatisfied with such a state of things, though it has no clear notion either of the causes or of the remedy for it?

The revenues and expenses of the city of Naples amount annually to about 407,000 ducats.

For many successive years the city (like the state of Naples) has expended more than it has received—a consequence partly of inevitable necessity and compulsion, partly also of want of strict regularity and a wise economy. Murat undertook the debts of the city, but at the same time appropriated to

\* The communes and individuals are burdened with many other war-expenses besides.

himself plots of land and taxes to a far greater amount. The more recent debts have been incurred chiefly for expensive undertakings, buildings, and the like.

If we compare the relation of several Italian cities to the taxes on consumption levied on them, we find it to vary much. Trieste, for instance, receives the whole of those taxes and gives only a certain sum out of them to the government; whereas, the latter, in Turin and Naples, takes the whole to itself, and allows only a fixed sum to the cities. Both forms are liable to the weighty objection that, in case of the increased prosperity or decline of the cities, fixed sums are unsuitable and appear too large or too small, either for the government or for the city. If, on the other hand, a portion, a quota of the total receipts were to be paid to the state or to the city, the sums for both parties would rise or fall according to existing circumstances.

I have already mentioned that great improvements are making in the cities and provinces by the government and the communes. The proposal of such plans rests with the provincial councils, and three of the members of that council usually superintend the execution. As, however, on such occasions misunderstandings, quarrels, misapplication of the money, generally take place, the government mostly appoints competent persons as

assistants, and commits the chief supervision to the intendant.

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## LETTER CIX.

Naples—Relief of the Poor—Mendicity—Foundling Hospitals.

Naples, July 25th.

THERE are many customs, usages, institutions, laws, of a people, which at a distance appear foolish, but which on a close view one learns to comprehend and to think natural : there are others, on the contrary, which appear wrong whether near or afar off, and may be designated as prejudices and defects. Sometimes writers, setting themselves in opposition to the people or the government, or both, have attacked errors of this kind, and at last come off more or less victorious ; sometimes they are infected with the same prejudices, and seek to clothe these in the specious garb of wisdom, or to find pretexts of all sorts for their justification. A subject treated in this way, sometimes skilfully, at others unskilfully, is the provision for the poor.

I will not repeat what I have said in my letters from England, on the general point of view from which pauperism may be considered, but shall connect my remarks on the state of things here with a Neapolitan work that is just published. In this

work, entitled, *Egotism and Love*, M. Rotondo justly insists that the state cannot and ought not to have the whole unconditional management of the poor; and that many details must be left to an immediate operation (along with the public officers) to a Christian charitable assistance of distressed brethren. But I know of no state and of no writer that has ever practically prevented this, or theoretically denied it. The dispute began only about the measure of official operation, and the nature of personal relief; so that no reason exists for designating beforehand one or the other notion as selfish, and attaching to it a *levis notæ macula*.

It is not my duty to defend the work of Count Petitti, on the poor, which M. Rotondo, with well-meant zeal, most vehemently attacks. In my opinion it will not be difficult for the Count to show what misconceptions prevail in it. I shall, therefore, content myself with noticing some other points. Rotondo compares the English and the Italian systems for the relief of the poor, finds that they differ in every point, and gives the unqualified preference to the latter. Here the question first forces itself upon us: Why has Rotondo compared the Italian institutions with those only which are almost universally acknowledged to be extremely defective? In this manner we arrive not at any glorification of the Italian mode of proceeding, but, at most, at the conviction that the old English method is worse



than the present Italian ; a very mean praise indeed !

To this must be added, that Rotondo is very imperfectly acquainted with the earlier English institutions, and levels at them reproaches which they do not deserve. He says, for instance, that the English government destroyed all the charitable institutions, and took the entire management of the poor into its own hands. Just the reverse. England is as rich in charitable institutions as Italy, and both countries deserve, on this score, equal praise or equal censure. Moreover, the English government has concerned itself too little rather than too much about the poor ; hence arose such gross misconstructions of the laws, such great differences in different parts of the country, and (from the false application of Christian charity) so many injustices and absurdities. But let us set aside the former English defects, and ask, why Rotondo says nothing about the new English poor-law and its effects, about the Scotch and German institutions, about the distress in Ireland, &c. ? Had he noticed these, then indeed the dark side of the Italian mode of proceeding and the inadequacy of the means of relief afforded by it must have been clearly apparent.

With this point another position of Rotondo's is essentially connected. He says, namely, that the end of all exertion, all industry, all human activity,

is leisure, the doing nothing—as though activity did not carry with it essentially its end and its reward, but the supreme good for man consisted in the cessation of activity, in a mere negation. Most assuredly after labour rest is sweet, and to him who is enfeebled by age the retrospect of his past life is a great consolation and a noble enjoyment. But if I set up leisure idolatrously as the first and the last, then he whom circumstances have allowed from childhood to indulge in idleness is much happier and wiser than the man who has eaten his bread in the sweat of his brow. The scholar, the artist, the statesman, must find the highest object and enjoyment in activity, and in the works of his life, otherwise he will not in the end enjoy *otium cum dignitate*.

A correct explanation of the theory of labour and rest, and their mutual re-action, is by no means impossible: but when even men of cultivated minds frequently fall into misconceptions upon this subject, we can scarcely be surprised if inferior understandings translate and construe them into the ordinary and vulgar notion that begging is better than working. And this notion, so degrading to man, is no where more generally diffused than in Italy, partly through the fault of governments and writers, inasmuch as they throw pauperism and beggary into one pot, and conceive that they are necessary companions. Whole nations of Europe,

thank God, prove the contrary, without any prejudice to christian charity.

Another Neapolitan writer may here be brought forward as a witness. Matteo de Augustinis says :  
“ A distinction must be made between pauperism and beggary (*mendicità*). The latter takes place publicly and in the streets, or privately and through mediation. Numberless persons beg without necessity, out of idleness, and that they may lead a more convenient life. You are every day accosted by people dwelling in the country and in towns, who are strong, hearty, capable of work, or even actually labouring people. Nay, to such a length is this practice carried, that many persons of both sexes, who are going about their business, do not scruple to solicit alms as soon as they set eyes on any individual who has a benevolent look. Others again, especially in large towns, make a particular trade of begging; and when you refuse to give them something, they pass from the most moving solicitations to abuse and insult, nay, sometimes to curses and vituperation.”

In the very same way Morichini shows, in his excellent work on the charitable institutions of Rome, that their superabundance increases the number of the poor. Still more lamentable, he adds, are the consequences of mendicity for morality. It

\* *Della condizione economica del regno di Napoli*, p. 116.

encourages idleness and supports those vices which are always its invisible attendants.

This systematic legalized mendicancy I consider as one of the greatest and most dangerous diseases of Italy at the present day ; and so much the greater and more dangerous, because so many governments, and so many Italians who are not beggars, regard it as a sign of noble beneficence and genuine christianity. If we examine the thing more closely, even that faint halo which people have striven to throw around it wholly disappears.

Nothing tends more to undermine, to destroy, the worth, the dignity, the self-respect of man than the habit of begging. Crime itself (committed in a moment of necessity or of passion) does not bring with it such moral dissolution, is not so incurable a cancer for the better part of man. It is, therefore, the greatest barbarity to send out one who is really destitute into the streets to beg, instead of providing for him with more christian charity in a worthy manner ; it is a culpable negligence to suffer those who are not in need of relief to be seduced to their own ruin to beg. Both are done in Italy that (so say some) the christian may always have opportunity to earn the merit of charity. Thus then, agreeably to the proverb : *Fiat experimentum in corpore*, or *in anima, vili*, the pauper is to be employed and sacrificed as an excitement to the virtue of the rich ! If this be the highest aim, then are all charitable institutions good for nothing,

and their inmates, without exception, ought to be turned out into the streets for the encouragement of charity. But if a selection is to be made, by what right and upon what principles are the ejected to be decimated?

Is it christian affection to leave it to chance whether the street beggar gets nothing, little, much, or too much? Are there not quarrels about the most lucrative places? Are not the most productive, (for instance, at the doors of some of the churches) considered as branches of business, and even taken, as it were, upon lease?

Beggary, in the form in which it is met with in most of the towns of Italy, does not increase christian affection, but leads, through its excess, to hardness of heart; otherwise it would not be possible that persons afflicted with the most grievous diseases could be left to wallow in their misery on the same spot for years together. And just as false as that this beggary encourages charity is the assertion, that mendicity and distress were ever done away with by means of alms given to street-beggars.

A people that piques itself so much on its sense of beauty ought not to be wholly regardless of the æsthetic side of the matter, and by no means to put forward every where that which is disgusting. Just in front of the king's palace here a fellow stations himself, who exhibited a large tumour, the sight of which made me spring aside in disgust. Of christian charity (I will not deny it) I felt in these moments

not a single spark, but far more inclination to lay my cane about the shoulders of the impudent scoundrel.

In another part of his book, Rotondo says, that in London 20,000 infants are annually exposed. I know not who can have told him so wholly false and incredible a story, and hope that my statements relative to Italian foundlings may not contain similar errors. From Florence I have received the following supplementary information: At the end of 1838, the foundling hospital there (for about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of Tuscany) supported 7600 children, 3400 of whom, according to one computation, were illegitimate, the others born in wedlock. The number of the children annually exposed amounts to about 1200. The mortality, formerly as high as 80 per cent., has decreased since the pay for nursing has been raised, that is to say, since the expenses have been greatly augmented. In Naples there were exposed in the year

|      |      |              |      |
|------|------|--------------|------|
| 1824 | 1977 | of whom died | 1471 |
| 1827 | 1891 | „            | 1457 |
| 1828 | 1893 | „            | 1503 |
| 1838 | 2022 | „            | 1440 |

Christian love is as mistakenly applied in the case of foundling hospitals as in that of street-beggary. Instead of repeating my oft-expressed sentiments on this subject, I shall merely quote the defence set up by a lady. “But for the foundling hospital,” said she, “a girl who has had a child could not conceal

the loss of her chastity, and so could not get a husband." This idea, that governments ought, by public institutions, to provide a concealment for unchastity, that an innocent bridegroom may be the more easily duped, was to me new and unexpected. Setting aside that, in this manner, bad means are employed for an assumed good end, and that lying is almost made the foundation of matrimony, the principal object is not attained, because there, where such lying and such concealment are impracticable, the mother far more frequently, and in virtue of right and nature, marries the father of her child, and then it has incomparably better attendance than in those great privileged institutions for wholesale murder, called foundling hospitals.

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## LETTER CX.

Sicily—Constitution—Administration.

Naples, August 1st.

No person of understanding and natural unsophisticated feeling can listen without deep sympathy to the complaints of the Irish, when descanting on what their beloved country might be and what it is. The grief of the Sicilians and their friends must be still greater, if possible: for on the tragic back-ground to the picture of the present we see, at

and the relations of the country to Naples are extremely defective, because the feeling, the conviction, of this defectiveness is as lively as it is general in Sicily ; and because the two principal divisions of the kingdom manifest a mutual aversion, hatred, contempt, which, without speedy and efficacious remedy and amendment, must dissolve and destroy even the healthiest state.

Whose fault is this ? Each portion of the kingdom throws the blame on the other, the Neapolitans on the Sicilians, the Sicilians on the Neapolitans, the government on the people, the people on the king and his ministers. The philosopher may know *a priori*, the historian may conclude beforehand from numberless facts, that all are to blame, but in what greater or less degree is to be ascertained only from an examination of details.

There are two questions which I shall not answer in this place, but merely propose, because they can be repeated at each individual subject, and serve for a sort of guide or touchstone. Has Sicily gained or lost more from having lain beyond the reach of the great political movements of the latest times, and escaped the sufferings, the efforts, the training, the purgatory, to which almost all other nations have been exposed ? Has Naples derived from all these circumstances the advantage of a real regeneration of rulers and of people ; or are the former still proceeding at random as they did



before, and is the latter just what it was in the groundwork of character and disposition ?

As many a medical school reduces all diseases and all remedies to a few principal forms, so the present time refers the diseases and the remedies of the social system chiefly to the forms of the constitution. Let us, then, first turn to this. Ever since the middle ages there has subsisted in Sicily a constitution essentially founded on the three well-known estates, nobility, clergy, and towns. This natural, commendable, primitive form, soon sickened of the usual diseases.

In the first place, namely, the kings mostly saw in it only a bar to their arbitrary authority, or to their enlightened good-will ; and they found means to reduce the activity and the influence of the states almost to nothing. But where,

Secondly, this influence still manifested itself, it was generally but partial and pernicious, owing to the vast preponderance of the first two estates, and the inadequate, defective representation of the third estate. By far the greatest part of the landed property was in the hands of the nobility and clergy, and, moreover, almost entirely withdrawn from the operation of any beneficial movement by ecclesiastical laws, feoffments of trust, majorats, entails, &c. The first-born were the principal heirs, and, nevertheless, very frequently exhausted their property by senseless profusion and recklessly running in debt.

They rarely resided in the country, and still more rarely took upon themselves the management of their estates. Even the younger sons of the nobility scarcely ever embraced a really productive profession, but became, with few exceptions, advocates, soldiers, or monks.

About the end of the 18th century, then, the constitution was wholly inactive, or in a pernicious activity, and the views of the government coincided in no respect with those of the nobility and the clergy. The former wished to introduce the new military, financial, and administrative system; the latter to keep up all privileges, the ancient feudal and ecclesiastical system, the immoveability of landed property, the strict dependence of the people, &c. Opinions might differ as to the advantages of the one or the other system; but certainly it was impossible to let both subsist together in their full extent, or to combine them with one another.

After the removal of the court to Sicily, these intentions manifested themselves more and more decidedly, and it was regarded by the aristocracy as its greatest and most dangerous enemy. As the English, then in Sicily, were also frequently dissatisfied with the court, the grandees solicited their aid against the king and the government: they imagined that a constitution modelled after that of England must give them, in opposition to the king, a far greater power, the power of the upper

house. The English favoured this idea, partly from preference of their own constitution, partly because they hoped in this way to conciliate not only the nobility, but all the inhabitants of Sicily. The latter, in fact, rejoiced at the prospect of emerging from their previous nullity ; they hoped (small as the beginning was) to open for themselves a more influential career ; and all, in short, were satisfied that a complete political separation from Naples should once more be pronounced.

Thus, with the co-operation of Lord William Bentinck, was framed the constitution of 1812, with an elective lower house, and an upper house composed of barons and bishops.

In the same proportion, however, as all the other estates hoped to gain, the king and the queen conceived that they themselves should lose. The former, in displeasure, resigned the government to his son on the 16th of January, 1812, and the queen fell out so seriously with the English, that she quitted Sicily, and proceeded, by way of Constantinople, to Vienna. This evident dissatisfaction, this complete retirement of the king and queen, was extremely injurious to the infant, unconsolidated constitution. Misunderstandings and intrigues daily sprang up ; among the apparently harmonious discord arose, and the great difficulty of habituating themselves to an entirely new system of social relations was not less felt by the Sicilians than by

other nations. The nobility conceived that, in the third estate, or in the second chamber, a far more formidable enemy than the king was growing up against them ; and, while some of the leaders of the upper house loudly recommended judicious compliance, others saw in the unconditional rejection of every proposal the only means of salvation. Many liberals were not less discordant, hot-headed, and inexperienced : and thus an arena for passions of every kind was opened to pamphleteers and newspaper-writers.

Scarcely a single resolution of the lower house (for instance on feoffments of trust, taxes on feudal property, agriculture, corn trade, the government of towns, &c.) received the confirmation of the upper house. As then the general improvements and advantages which had been so ardently expected were not realized, the people became indifferent to the new constitution, and many in superior stations lost their confidence in it ; while but very few recommended perseverance, moderation, and patience, and argued that it was wrong to hope to reap in a few weeks that harvest which would require years to grow and to ripen.

This state of things in Sicily, as well as that in other countries of Europe, enable us to comprehend how the king, after his restoration in December, 1816, could abolish both the old and the new Sicilian constitution without resistance, nay,

even without much contradiction. But we must not forget that at the same time important promises were given, that in Sicily none but Sicilians should receive appointments, and that the highest offices should be divided between them and the Neapolitans in proportion to the population. At court and in the army only, no strict separation was to take place. The feudal system should continue to be abolished, and new taxes should not be imposed without the consent of the parliament. The viceroy of Sicily should be a member of the royal family, or a distinguished personage.

Though these promises seemed to favour Sicily in various respects, yet many scruples arose in the very first moment. Does the appointment of the higher officers according to the population ( $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$ ), afford the Sicilians a sufficient guarantee that their national wishes and aims will ever be accomplished? What is the meaning of "The feudal system is abolished?" Where, after the abrogation of the old and the new constitution, is a parliament to be found? How will it be formed? Will one be called? Why is it not said that the distinguished personage who is to be appointed viceroy of Sicily must always be a Sicilian? &c.

It is certain that, for some years, nothing whatever was done for the formation of a constitution; and by this equalization with Naples the Sicilians deemed their rights invaded, and felt their national

pride hurt. But this was not all : the system of administration, instead of diminishing this discontent, only created new subjects of dissatisfaction, and manifested opposite wishes and tendencies. The Neapolitan government, namely, retained in the kingdom of Naples many institutions given by the French, in an arbitrary manner, it is true, but yet for the promotion of greater civil liberty and equality ; and these institutions it purposed to introduce in Sicily. This excited great discontent in the first and second estates, which were anxious to preserve all the old feudal prerogatives ; and much as the tenor of the laws might please the friends of innovation, still they sided in many points with the opponents of the government. An outcry was raised that the latter, (notwithstanding its loudly declared enmity to every thing French,) participated in, nay, outdid, the Gallic rage for centralization, and meant, as it were by right of conquest, to place Sicily in every respect on the same footing as Naples. Why not leave untouched the institutions which had subsisted for ages in Sicily, as nothing was more dreaded there than a subordination to Naples ? Wherefore this equalization, this interference of the authorities in everything whatever, this restrictive superintendence over the communes, this imposition of new burdens before the removal of the old, at a time when the country was suffer-

ing from the derangement of trade, and the prices of all produce were falling ?

Such were the views and dispositions at the moment when the revolution of the year 1820 broke out in Naples. It showed that, in Sicily, under grievances of the same kind, very different opinions prevailed as to the means by which they were to be remedied and how they were to be prevented for the future. On one grand point only all were agreed—that Sicily had full right to a constitution, and that government ought not by an arbitrary resolution to deprive country and people of this inestimable good. Very few thought of a restoration of the old constitution ; while to most such an ultra-conservative predilection for what was acknowledged to be faulty appeared extremely irrational. Some members of the first estates felt that it was necessary to concede something, at least, to the wants and wishes of the time, and would now have been willing to accept the constitution of 1812, which they had before detested ; but many were no longer satisfied with this, though the liberals by no means coincided in their plans. A party, namely, (predominant in Palermo,) insisted on the perfect independence of Sicily, and rejected the Spanish constitution not solely on account of its defects, but because it was forced upon them by Naples, and changed the ancient, independent, separate kingdom into a mere province, of the same cut and

fashion as all other provinces. A second party, (predominant in Messina) demanded, on the contrary, the adoption of the Spanish constitution, partly out of opposition to Palermo, partly because they would rather enter into connection with Naples than remain dependent on the Sicilian barons.

After the victory of the Austrians at Rieti, and the return of the king to Naples, all these plans fell to the ground, and not a syllable has since been said about a separate state and a constitution. For the introduction of the Neapolitan municipal and district regulations was regarded by the Sicilians as an abridgment or an annihilation of greater rights; and there is nothing but a law of the 19th of December, 1838, by which the feudal system is again abolished, that belongs in part to that political sphere. What had been several times prescribed, but hitherto mostly evaded, was at length to be carried into execution on a large scale. In the preamble to that law it is said: "Agriculture cannot flourish without such an unconditional property in land that any third person may be forbidden to set foot upon it. Land acquires value only where there are many wealthy cultivators, whom attachment to the property binds to the soil. The extensive, bare, desert, uncultivated tracts, which are to be found in Sicily, (notwithstanding its natural fertility and the favourable climate,) cannot be improved so long as there are several masters of the same soil."



Agreeably to this view, new ordinances follow, which favour more speedy and suitable divisions of common properties. The very extensive possessions of those churches of which the king is patron were to be treated according to the general directions and let. Though this law cannot yet have come into full operation in the space of a few months, and has on one side to encounter great difficulties, still it prepares the way for essential improvements, and will gain the merited approbation which is always awarded to similar measures, though opposed at the outset.

After the constitution of Sicily had been abolished, the inhabitants retained only a separate administration, independent of the Neapolitan authorities, over which they watched with redoubled vigilance, insomuch that every trifling alteration which has been made for years appeared to them an indication of greater danger. This apprehension was not unnatural, and it has been fulfilled. For the sake of brevity, I pass over the former regulations and communicate only the principal clauses of the law of 1837, by which the Sicilian administration is completely blended with the Neapolitan. It is therein said : The separation up to this time of the administration has not been productive of the expected benefits, whereas it is to be presumed that an opposite system will operate most advantageously for jurisprudence, finances, public opinion,

the rallying of all around the throne, &c. In future, therefore, the king will fill all temporal and spiritual offices in all parts of his dominions at pleasure with Neapolitans or Sicilians; and, upon the whole, give as many appointments to the former in Sicily as to the latter in Naples. Moreover, there shall not be separate ministers or ministries either in Sicily or in Naples, for either country; on the contrary, all business shall be transacted by the ministers of state appointed for the whole kingdom, and commands shall be sent by them to Sicily, and reports addressed to them from Sicily. It will be sufficient to assign to the viceroy in Palermo certain subordinate assistants for the different branches of the administration."

Whether such an administration of the whole kingdom from a single centre is to be preferred to several more localized administrations, is not to be decided generally and *a priori*. Every system, namely, has in general its light and its dark side, and the preponderance of arguments will turn this way or that, according to country, manners, sentiments, wishes, &c.

It is certain that the majority of the Sicilians regard the new regulation as a new loss, dread the partiality and the ignorance of the remote authorities, call the pretended simplification of business a double scribbling in which a deal of time is wasted, and deem the boasted removal of Sicilians to Naples,

held forth as a bait, no gain but an essential loss. The officers, it is said, will hereby be transformed into slaves, and compelled to part from country, property, relatives, friends, whenever a minister takes it into his head to send them arbitrarily now to one place and then to another.

In those countries where not merely the removeability, but the arbitrary removeability of all officers is defended, these notions of the Sicilians will be called antiquated, or even silly or absurd. But have they not their natural, noble, human side, and is it not rather a mere superstition of the present day that the more one undermines and extirpates the natural, the noble, and the human ; the more one converts the public officer into a will-less wheel of the complicated machine — the more perfect is the supreme direction of the government and on the better footing are the social relations of humanity ? Truly wise and just governments do not grasp at such abstractions ; but know how to reconcile the general welfare, in this point also, with the wishes and comfort of individuals.

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### LETTER CXI.

Sicily — Population — Exemption from forced Levies of Soldiers  
— Gendarmerie — Police.

Naples, August 2nd.

ON looking over my last letter, I find in it more shade than light ; and besides we shall yet have to

travel through other dark countries. I should like, therefore, to seek up and to introduce some lighter points.

The population has certainly increased of late years, perhaps more than in Naples ; it now amounts to about two millions. Such an increase, however, as I have already observed is not always a proof of increasing prosperity ; and many will shake their heads when they learn that in this population are numbered 127 princes, 78 dukes, 130 marquesses, innumerable counts, 28,000 monks, and 18,000 nuns.\* Proportionately great (partly through accessions of country-people) is the population of the towns. Smith, in his *Travels* in 1824, gives the following, perhaps not quite authentic, amounts : Taormina 3500, Bronte 9000, Alicata 11,000, Castrogiovanni 11,000, Monreale 12,000, Syracuse 13,000, Piazza 13,000, Acireale 14,000, Girgenti 15,000, Caltanissetta 16,000, Caltagirone 20,000, Marsala 21,000, Modica 21,000, Trapani 25,000, Messina 61,000, Catanea 74,000, Palermo 180,000 — and these amounts had since increased, till the cholera came and thinned them. To this increase have certainly contributed the abolition of restrictive monopolies and guilds, the diminution of the influence of the high nobility, the rise of the inferior nobility and of the third estate, the suppression of oligarchical communal administrations, &c. Ter-

\* Karaczay, *Manuel du Voyageur*.

mini, for instance, which formerly had no income from its communal property, in 1821 received annually 80 ounces;\* Marsala, instead of 30, receives 300; Mazara, instead of 31, now has 318, &c. This was partly a consequence of pasture-jurisdictions, partly of other measures, by which interested lettings were rendered difficult or impracticable.

It is considered by many as an important privilege that Sicily is not subject to any compulsory levy of soldiers; and yet the want of all military training ought rather to be regarded as an essential loss. This privilege certainly led to the enlisting of dissolute persons and to the sending over of many Neapolitans, especially military officers, to Sicily. The Neapolitans insist too that towards the yearly supply of 8000 men Sicily ought by right to furnish 2000; that this unjust privilege of course increases the Neapolitan burdens, inasmuch as 2000 more men are obliged to serve as soldiers, or to pay a high price for substitutes. To these complaints the Sicilians reply that such a calculation is unfair, because it treats rights of the highest antiquity as though they had never existed. In the course of time, rejoin the Neapolitans, unjust privileges of this kind, which tend to weaken, nay even to ruin, the state, must be abolished, and a uniform social life commenced.

This is the proper place for passing to another

\* An ounce is about 10s. English money.—T.

point of contention — the gendarmerie and police. In the year 1838 a law was issued relative to the formation of a body of watchmen for the internal safety of Sicily. In proportion to the population, from 30 to 200 were to be elected in every town from among the civil officers, proprietors, capitalists, shopkeepers, and others of reputable character. They serve gratuitously, and at their head is a captain appointed by the intendant. The election takes place through a committee consisting of the judge of the place, the burgomaster, the clergyman, and two decurions chosen by the intendant. Every ten days at furthest, from 3 to 12 persons take upon them the night-watch, and render assistance wherever it seems necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

On occasion of a new organization of the gendarmerie in Naples, these regulations were modified in certain points by subsequent laws of 1837 and 1838; the armed companies, as they were called, were dissolved in Sicily, and the whole protective police was placed in the hands of the gendarmerie.

Those companies were established nearly one hundred years ago, for the safety of persons and property in the country, and improved in 1812. At the head of each was a captain, who chose his men at pleasure, and who was bound to make compensation for all robberies and thefts committed in the day-time on the high roads within his district. The

companies were paid out of the public coffers. So far back as 1816 the gendarmerie began to perform the same kind of duty along with them, but they have only just been abolished. The whole institution, said its adversaries, originated in a time when the government was weak, no central point existed, and too much was left to the communes. The new institution has more general objects, and is not intended merely to prevent the commission of robbery and theft in broad day. It is destined to keep every one, both by day and by night, within the bounds of legitimate order, which the Sicilians have of late but too frequently overstepped.

The Sicilians, on the contrary, complain in this manner. The old institutions attained the end; the new must fail to do so. For the guarantee of compensation for loss sustained through robbery, theft, and the like, is at an end. Those hitherto engaged in this duty were acquainted with the people, their characters, connexions, retreats, concealers, &c.—the Neapolitans sent hither know nothing about these matters, and wear themselves out to no purpose, while robbery and plunder are gaining the upper-hand. There was not the least cause for these alterations, unless it were the intention to annihilate whatever is Sicilian, and to cut out every thing after the same pattern. To increase the evil, the principal board of police for the whole island, which sat at Palermo, has been dissolved, and every

intendant and subintendant has received orders to place himself in immediate communication with the ministers. Hence not a creature knows anything of matters beyond his own district, and a glorious era is commencing for rogues and robbers.

These evils are the less likely to be remedied by the administration of the laws, since the Sicilians themselves acknowledge its defects, the superabundance of lawyers, and the inordinate fondness of their countrymen for litigation.

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## LETTER CXII.

Sicily—Decline of its Prosperity—Trade—Commerce.

Palermo, August 8th.

WHEN one speaks of the decline of a country, one is accustomed to compare the present with the nearest, or at least no very remote, period of the past, and to investigate the cause of the more recent evils, as well as to pronounce at whose door the blame of them must lie. But the decline of Sicily commences with the wars against Carthage; it dates before the time of Verres. Since then there has been a continual rising and sinking; though the country never again attained its first splendour, and therefore chooses rather to view itself in reflection, and to seek food for the great national pride in the past, rather than outdo that past, or at least to



equal it by the efforts of the present. That this has not been done, and is not done, is the fault (so say most Sicilians) of the vicious governments, and not of individuals, or of the people. For my part, however, I have always great scruples to set up such an unqualified antithesis, such an abrupt separation, and thereby to deny the reciprocal action and reaction, as well as the participation in honour and dishonour. Many things may be amended without the interference of governments, and even a bad, a partial government must be pleased with such changes. The construction of roads, the foundation of schools, the improvement of the condition of the country-people, exemplary attention of the great to agriculture, introduction of finer breeds of cattle, more careful manuring, abolition of many evils of the feudal system, transition from short to longer leases, division of common lands, the avoiding of debts and of all needless lawsuits—these and many other things of the kind, which one misses in Sicily, where the country favoured by Nature has not kept pace by any means with less favoured lands, have not been prevented by the government, cannot be prevented by any government. If then a little more serious self-knowledge were associated with the complaints of the Sicilians about their government, and activity were to rise to the acquisition of new laurels for themselves, the country and the people would be

essentially bettered, and they might then oppose the vicious laws with double right and double energy.

As my opinion, influenced by no partialities, as, I may say, my conscience, has impelled me to pass this judgment which may possibly offend many, so I will now endeavour to show by two important matters that the complaints of the government about the obstinacy and the refractory spirit of the Sicilians likewise go a great deal too far, nay that the latter are perfectly right in regard to essentials, though individuals may have suffered themselves to be hurried into errors and perversities. I allude to the free navigation (*libero cabotaggio*), as it is called, and the trade in sulphur.

The undeniable truth that the combination of agriculture, trade, and commerce has proved most advantageous to many nations, could not pass unobserved in Sicily, and the wish to move also in this track was natural and commendable. It was not long, however, before its governments fell into oft-refuted and ever-recurring errors ; it wished suddenly to create manufactures, for which capital, preliminary practice, and many other requisites were wanting ; as all these efforts failed, it strove by excessively protecting duties to cut itself off not only from foreign countries but likewise from Naples ; it forgot, in extravagant zeal for a few favoured individuals, the prodigious burdens of those who were to enrich the proprietors of factitious manufactories.

Many Neapolitans took up the same ground, and wished in like manner to be protected against the importation of Sicilian produce, for instance, wine and corn.

Faulty as are the principles which the Neapolitan government always applies towards foreign countries in regard to the system of duties, still it was perfectly right when it resolved to break down all barriers between Naples and Sicily, and to establish a free trade. Those Sicilians, on the contrary, were wrong who advocated the cause of a shackled trade, and beheld in seclusion from all the rest of the world the foundation of infinite prosperity; they were wrong, instead of urging the full application of the principles of free trade, and the removal of individual defects, to desire for their little island a continental system which must ultimately have cut off village from village.

Just as erroneously did many Neapolitans refer to the English corn-laws, in order to justify the prohibition of Sicilian wheat, as did the Sicilians to justify a prohibition of Neapolitan manufactures. Those English laws serve rather to prove what great pains it requires to bring back an artificial to the natural state. Or, to take an example that lies nearer at hand: — the increased duty laid on Genoese paper has only produced a monopolistic rise of the Neapolitan prices. The Genoese immediately made cheaper paper boxes, got into their

hands the trade in southern fruits to Trieste, and, owing to excessive protection, most of the Sicilian houses were ruined.

Where then lies the fault, where the true ground of complaint against the free trade established since 1824 between Naples and Sicily? It lies in this, that, notwithstanding all the high commendations of liberty and equality, no such thing exists; but that a great many restrictions, mostly to the prejudice of Sicily, are still in force. It is to this point that attention should be directed, and the Sicilians must insist on the thorough execution of the new system, not (out of impatient despair) on a return to old perversities, or even an aggravation of them.

Sicily then is injured, for example, inasmuch as the Neapolitan government monopolies (tobacco, salt, gunpowder) prevent the export from Sicily to the continent; while there is no such bar to the introduction of any Neapolitan produce into Sicily. Sicilian wine, moreover, pays a considerable import duty in Naples, but not the Neapolitan when it is brought to the island. In justification of this proceeding, it is alleged that the Sicilian wine is better than the Neapolitan and must therefore be more heavily taxed. The Sicilians reply that their produce is less, though the expenses of production are greater. By calculations of this kind one never arrives at a simple, rational system of taxation; on the contrary, every different sort of wine (from the

Somma, Ischia, Capri, Calabria, &c.) must, in this case, have its own particular rate of duty, and the number of custom-house lines, blockades, or surcharges, be increased *ad infinitum*. More stress might be laid on the circumstance that the state monopolies subsist only in Naples not in Sicily, whence the latter country has the advantage in another respect. On the other hand, it is a mistake to assert that the wine-duty in Naples is merely a city impost, as the state reserves by far the greater part for itself.

As a further proof how far trade still is from being free, I give you the following passage in a letter from a person conversant with the subject : " All foreign goods sent from Naples to Sicily pay the whole duty a second time on their arrival, no matter whether they have the leaden mark of the king of Naples or not. Shipments from Sicily to Naples are in the same predicament.

" The whole island pays ten per cent. less than Palermo, the capital : but goods which have there paid the 10 per cent. and are exported again, have no claim to drawback.

" Articles not subject to the leading (jewelry, for instance) pay every time on transmission from Messina to Palermo the whole duty over again."

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## LETTER CXIII.

Sicily — Sulphur Trade and Sulphur Monopoly.

Malta, August 20th.

You recollect, no doubt, from your early days, that it was formerly customary to give schoolboys Latin passages in which all sorts of blunders were purposely made in grammar and syntax, that they might correct them and thence learn how Latin ought *not* to be written. The same course seems to have been pursued in Naples in the regulation of the Sicilian sulphur trade ; it may be clearly shown from the more recent laws and contracts, how, consistently with true wisdom and experience, things of this nature ought not to be managed and treated. The contract between the government and the house of Taix and Aycard is pre-eminently a *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, such as is scarcely to be matched in the modern financial history of Europe. Charges of this kind are severe ; but it will not be difficult to prove them.

Some years ago, when the price of sulphur, the most important of the exports of Sicily, declined, owing to various natural causes, all the sellers complained, as usual, and many represented that the government ought to do something for the purpose of raising the price and the profit upon it, as though any government can regulate the buying and selling

price of goods at pleasure. Interested persons took advantage of this error, and a M. Taix presented a grand plan for affording relief to the sellers ; the nature of it shall presently be explained. Though Sicilian commissioners rejected this plan for very good reasons, M. Aycard, nothing daunted, submitted a second and finally a third, in which he said that it was foolish to allow the owners of sulphur mines to exhaust them by working them immoderately ; that the state ought to interfere to cramp self-interest, and to dispel the empty dream of free trade. It ought to secure and maintain against foreigners the monopoly of the sulphur trade, which nature has given to the island. It would be advantageous for Sicily to produce but little sulphur, and for that little to obtain a high price. A private commercial company could alone lead to this desirable end, and Messrs. Taix, Aycard and Co., were willing, out of sheer generosity, to take upon them so dangerous a business, and to construct roads, dispense alms, compensate proprietors, and found a mineralogical cabinet at Palermo, into the bargain.

Phrases and baits of this kind gained many unenlightened persons ; means of a different sort were employed in other places ; an examination of the matter in full council of state was avoided, and the management of the affair was committed chiefly to *one* minister.

Loud complaints were raised at the same time in Sicily against the mill-tax, which had recently been very much increased, and certain persons solicited its reduction, not from a sense of justice, or because the revenue from it might be dispensed with, but because it would then be no longer possible to avoid the *salto mortale* for founding a sulphur company.

Accordingly, on the 27th of June, 1838, was issued a royal ordinance signed by St. Angelo, the minister, the preamble to which says: For the benefit of our beloved subjects, in order to pay debts in Sicily, to alleviate burdens, to diffuse great wealth, and to call forth public works, which the island has such need of, a contract is concluded (without listening to plans of rights and privileges) with Taix, Aycard and Co. for ten years, to the following purport: —

1. As the great production of sulphur is the cause of every calamity in Sicily, the same shall be reduced from 900,000 quintals to 600,000 per annum, consequently diminished one third.

2. The average produce from 1834 to 1837 shall determine the quantity of the two thirds, beyond which no sulphur shall henceforth be allowed to be raised.

3. The price at which the company buys and at which it sells shall be officially fixed.

4. It pays to the king 400,000 Neapolitan ducats per annum.



5. The proprietors have full and unlimited liberty to sell their sulphur to whomsoever they please, and to send it whither they will, in case they do not choose to dispose of it to the company.

Thus favourably to liberty runs this clause in the ordinance of the 27th of June, 1838, but in the contract concluded by St. Angelo on the 8th of August with Taix, after the word "company" is inserted a single line — "provided that the owners pay to the company 20 carlines per quintal."

Such is the substance of a contract which (I repeat it) can scarcely be matched in the history of finance. Though it needs no explanation, I cannot forbear adding a few remarks.

1. It is true enough that the quantity of a production may exceed the consumption and the demand. The prices then fall, and this transient or permanent sign serves to warn every intelligent producer and maker to curtail the supply here and there, more or less, or perhaps not at all, in the prospect of a favourable change of things. In the infinite variety of relations of persons and things, it is only the individual who can form just conclusions on this subject; and it is a palpable folly to pretend to prescribe the course to be pursued by numbers at one and the same time. Every regulation of this kind rests on mere caprice, and always shows something too much or too little.

2. It is one of the grossest errors to attempt to

increase the wealth of a people in commanding by law the diminution of productions and industry. The old fabulous story that the Dutch threw their spices into the sea, in order to keep up their price, is reduced to practice in our so-called enlightened age, and upon a larger scale. To be consistent, the government must, for the prosperity of Sicily, limit also the production of wine, oil, wheat, &c., and all for the purpose of amassing wealth, paying debts, and so forth. What conjuror, what oracle, can have inspired and revealed the normal standard of two thirds and one third? If an English minister were to propose similar measures in regard to the working of the coal mines, it would be thought high time to send him to Bedlam.

8. One blunder leads to another. The average produce of three years is to decide the future extent of the trade, without regard to good or bad times, scanty or abundant capitals, without permission to advance. As soon as the two-thirds, to pound and ounce, are above ground, the business must stand still; nay, one-third of all the workmen is, for the increase of wealth, suddenly thrown out of bread, and almost forced by want to take up the trade of robbing and stealing. The government itself has undertaken the task of founding an inexhaustible nursery of wretchedness and crime, and the paltry profit is almost entirely swallowed up by the regiments of soldiers that must be sent to Sicily

for the preservation of order. The more we enter into detail the more conspicuous becomes the folly. Thus an American house expended in the years 1834 to 1837 very large sums on opening sulphur mines, but they have hitherto produced nothing. And, according to the wise law, there is no better prospect for the future. Of arbitrary proceedings, concealment, fraud, impossibility of superintendence, and redoubled distress of small proprietors, only too many instances are enumerated.

4. How tyrannical and absurd it is to fix buying and selling prices for years to come, every one knows who has learned the a b c of national economy; and the company which imagined that it had calculated so cleverly for itself may find at last that it has miscalculated.

5. But if it should even make no profit whatever, the 400,000 ducats which are taken from the proprietors of sulphur mines, (in order to increase their wealth,) would be a most oppressive and most unjust tax. But one can scarcely tell whether the most galling and intolerable part of the business may not be this, that the man who drew up the above law speaks with incredible hardihood of hatred to rights and privileges, and eulogizes perfect freedom of trade, while he confers, in the 20 carlines per quintal, a monopoly upon the company, and renders a free sale absolutely impossible for every proprietor.

At the same time the company knows how to evade purchasing at the fixed prices, attempts are every where making to find sulphur out of Sicily, and a discovery made at Manchester already furnishes a substitute for many purposes. In spite of all repentance and all changes, stupid rulers will in a short time have so effectually destroyed the chief trade of Sicily, that this already so wretched and discontented country will be past recovery. Averse as I am to join in the too frequent complaints against authorities, in this case boundless ignorance is displayed; or there might have been at the bottom more reprehensible motives, on which people in Naples and Sicily speak so loudly and so personally that I dare not venture to repeat what they say.

But the Sicilians themselves are not blameless. For though one may be disposed not to be too severe upon many, because they were ignorant of the genuine principles of political economy, yet speedy experience and the outcry of the country ought to have enlightened them. Instead of this, however, not a few, belonging even to the first families, presented to the king when in Sicily an address of thanks for establishing the sulphur company. Whether then it were ignorance, error, cowardice, flattery, interest, or all these put together that led to this step, so much is certain that these silly panegyrists have no right whatever to com-

plain, or the assailed rulers may scornfully hold up to them their own hand-writing like a Medusa's head. If, meanwhile, country and people sink lower and lower, who cares for that? Or those who do care have no legal means of redress at their command, and their sense of right will not permit them to employ illegal ones.

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### LETTER CXIV.

Sicily—Corn Trade—Land-tax—Revenues and Expenditure  
of Palermo and Messina—Foundling Hospitals.

Messina, August 23d.

WHAT I have related to you in my last letter about the sulphur monopoly far surpasses (a retrograde step of course) all the singularities and follies that were formerly practised for the ruin of the corn-trade, but gradually abolished. In the middle of the month of August, namely, the authorities formerly met, and decided what should be the price of corn in the current year, how much the government laid under embargo for the country, and how much the local magistracy for the place, how much was to be carried to the great magazines (*caricatoji*) at Catanea, Girgenti, Sciacca, Termini, and Alicata, &c. Arbitrary acts, fraud, bribery, annoyances of every kind, were necessarily connected with these regulations, and were ruinous to agriculture. And

Sicily is still behindhand in all those improvements which other countries have derived from better theories and greater experience; and persons conversant with the subject complain of the like very great imperfections which prevail in the preparation of sulphur, while their recommendations tending to increase the produce are disregarded. The aspect of the naked hills of Sicily proves that the complaints of the destruction of wood are well founded.

After the decline of the price of corn, the complaints of the amount and unequal assessment of the later taxes on land grew so loud that it became necessary to rectify the register, and to take the average produce from 1820 to 1830 as the standard. No rise or alteration of the *cadastre* is to take place in regard to agriculture before 1880, and in regard to olive-trees and woods till 1900. On the question whether the land-tax is proportionably higher in Naples or in Sicily, the opinions of the inhabitants of the two countries differ exceedingly, as they do on a thousand other subjects. The same may be said of the question, whether the revenues of the state in Sicily are higher in proportion than the income and property, or the number of the inhabitants. Loud and general is the complaint that the government promotes the extension of the ruinous lotto into the smallest villages, and that it has seduced even the poorest to indulge delusive hopes.

For Palermo, Messina, Catania, and Calatagirone,

the mill-tax was retained at its full height, and for the rest of the country diminished. Instead of a kind of personal tax which was levied in most places, a tax has been again laid upon mills, even for the level country. Many regard this, and justly, as a very inconvenient retrograde step.

For the construction of roads, which are more rare in Sicily than in any civilized country in the world;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the land-tax is now allowed to be applied; and permission has been granted to raise a loan of a million of dollars at  $5\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. for the purpose.

By way of supplement to my former statements relative to the population, I subjoin the following particulars which I have just received. There were in

|          | 1798.     | 1831.     | 1836.                |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| Palermo  | 140,000   | 173,000   | 175,000 inhabitants. |
| Messina  | 46,000    | 58,000*   |                      |
| Catanea  | 45,000    | 52,000    | 56,000               |
| Girgenti | 14,000    | 17,000    |                      |
| Sicily   | 1,660,000 | 1,943,000 | in 1833, 1,927,000.  |

It was computed that there was one monk to 254 persons.

That the administration in the towns of Sicily needs superintendence is proved by older and later experience, and also by the discussions of plans (*stato discusso*) for the city of Palermo in 1838.

\* Others say 83,000.

They form a thick folio, which contains, besides the plans themselves, the remarks of the city-tax committee, of the intendant, of the ministers, and, lastly, the royal decision. For many years past the expenditure of the city has exceeded its income, and its finances are not yet in due order. The income of 186,000 ounces arises chiefly from landed property, land-tax, and taxes on consumption; thus, for instance, 50,000 ounces from flour, 18,000 from cattle for slaughter, 5,000 from fish, 32,000 from wine, &c. Among the expenses there are not only the ordinary, (salaries, pensions, buildings, interest 6000 ounces, lighting 10,000,) but also some of a peculiar kind. Thus, for instance, notwithstanding rich endowments, there are 8,000 ounces more for churches, convents, and festivals of all sorts, of which that of St. Rosalia alone costs 4000 ounces. Still more striking are two items, namely, 4000 ounces for the cure of diseased prostitutes, and 10,000 for foundlings, while the public schools are put off with 1000. Whether it is true that, in Palermo and other cities of Sicily, the money destined for this or that purpose finds its way into other channels, I cannot decide; but I may venture to assert that strict financial economy (deeply in debt and highly taxed as the city is) might diminish many expenses, or at least establish very different relative proportions between them.

The revenues and expenditure of the city of



Messina amount annually to 40,000 ounces, about five-sixths of which arise from taxes on consumption, upwards of 3000 from the sale of snow, and the rest from rent of property, fees of court, &c. Taxes on consumption are levied upon oil, tobacco, fish, wine, must, vinegar, brandy, &c. Wine pays 4 tari per salma; oil 1 tari the cafisso, (156 pounds Vienna weight,) butchers' meat 8 grani the rotolo, four for the king and four for the city, which are levied by two distinct authorities.

The corn-tax too is of a double kind. In the first place, the salma of corn pays on entering Messina, for the city 16 tari  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grani. The levy of this tax is let for the yearly payment of a specific sum to private persons (*campisti*). Secondly, on the salma of wheat, maize, and barley, 13 tari 12 grani are levied at the mill for the king. The salma, therefore, pays altogether 30 tari  $8\frac{1}{2}$  grani.\* Forty-two rural communes belonging to Messina are subject to the same heavy taxes.

The salaries paid by the city amount to between 5000 and 6000 ounces. A principal item of charge arises from the debts, most of which pay 5 per cent. interest. Money to pay them off is wanting. The sum of 30 ounces is put down annually for the library; on the other hand, 1000 for the festival of

\* A salma contains 18 tomoli, or about  $5\frac{1}{3}$  Vienna metzen. A cantaro, or 100 rotoli, is equal to  $141\frac{1}{2}$  pounds Vienna weight. A tari is about 5d. English.

the Virgin Mary on the 15th of August, and 1600 or 1700 for foundlings. The number of these in the city of Messina alone is from 30 to 50 monthly; for even wealthy men are not ashamed to send their illegitimate offspring to be nursed, or rather killed, in the convenient foundling hospital.

In a general statement for Palermo for 1836, exclusively of the children found alive, there are the following three items :

|                                              |    |
|----------------------------------------------|----|
| Found dead in the turning wheel .....        | 21 |
| ----- half dead, who soon afterwards died... | 45 |
| Perished from miscarriage and abortion ..... | 36 |

Such are the occurrences of institutions encouraging murder, sin, and wretchedness of all kinds, and yet patronized and extolled by state, city, and church !

## LETTER CXV.

Roman Archives—Relations between Church and State—  
Religious Squabbles.

Florence, Sept. 2nd.

It has been reported at Rome that I was charged with a secret mission to prosecute the intrigue commenced by M. B—— at the papal court ; and that, owing to so hostile an intention, the archives were naturally closed against me. This fiction is rather too silly. Nobody ever thought of giving me any

political commission whatever; and I have never said or done the least thing that could in the remotest manner have encouraged such an idea. In Rome they cry out: 'Thou heretic!'—in Berlin: 'Thou secret Catholic!' What wonder if I were to lose the tramontané, and no longer to know where my head stands. Accept, therefore, with indulgence what (with my weak head) I shall write to-day, as I am forced into this track. You are acquainted with my sentiments relative to the dispute between Prussia and Rome; I will, therefore, set aside all particulars and stick to generals.

If I turn to history, I discover tyranny in times when state and church were in harmony, and when they were at variance. I find tyranny on the Catholic side and on the Protestant side. Neither party then should set out with claiming for itself exclusively right, liberty, and wisdom. In the chalifat, which united the temporal and spiritual authority completely in one hand, I can no more discover a model for christian institutions than when state or church grasp beyond their natural sphere. Their limit is not absolutely fixed for all times and all nations; it has been moveable, and will continue to be so. But one party alone cannot fix the limits, nor arbitrarily remove them when fixed.

The pretensions of the hierarchy are certainly unbounded, and checked only by prudence and the force of circumstances. Hence not only incessant

attention, but often serious resistance, appears necessary in order not to be vanquished by the well-appointed army that is ever ready for battle. But is it not natural, after the failure or wilful destruction of so many political forms, to seek succour for once in ecclesiastical forms? And how can one ever combat the ancient, consistent, artful absolutism of the pope with success, if one at the same time caresses and protects the arbitrary and the superficial absolutism of temporal sovereigns? If, then, one would raise things from a quarrel that leads to nothing to a higher point, and aim at greater objects, the undertaking must be of one piece, and not in one part diametrically contrary to another. Every absolutist, bureaucratic, intolerant Protestant is inconsistent.

On the other hand, they are egregiously mistaken in Rome, when they conclude that every one who does not approve the conduct of the Prussian court in all its parts is of course a Catholic, or an advocate of the intolerant principles of certain zealots. It is a great pity, said a Roman to me, that the Catholic church must necessarily be intolerant. A gross, an atrocious error, if it was intended to express something more than firmness of conviction and kindly training—to assert the right and the duty to persecute, nay, to burn, persons holding different opinions.

Unconditional absolutism, however, is by no

means the all-embracing form of the Catholic church. Centuries back it had framed with admirable skill what is now called a constitution. Every theocracy, however, has gone to ruin as soon as it ceased to stand at the head of a progressive development of the human race; every opposition has fallen to pieces when it was no longer held together by one common interest and object. From this point of view many conjectures and conclusions might be drawn relative to the permanence and progress of Catholicism and Protestantism.

The final aim of Catholicism is, according to many, to exterminate Protestantism, and of Protestantism to exterminate Catholicism. Might they not just as well say that the aim of inspiration is to exterminate expiration, and *vice versa*? Are not life and development dependent on this double movement, and if either were about to cease altogether, should one not be obliged to restore it purified and invigorated, as "his Majesty's opposition?"

It is not by the external way of violence that any thing can be effected in the long run against Catholicism or Protestantism; the means, the ends, must be spiritual, must be christian, in the highest sense of the word. But are not many hard-hearted tyrants of the 16th and 17th century transformed in our days into heroes? Is it not denied that Jesuits or Puritans did wrong, because the tempest

of wrongful suffering burst also over them? It is a lamentable truth, confirmed afresh by experience, that religious fanaticism is covered by as light and thin a veil as political fanaticism, and the strength of the patient afflicted with fever is deemed greater and nobler than that of one in health. Wo be to the zealots, whether Protestant or Catholic, who will not strive to promote the development of mind by kindness and moderation, but to renew and carry on the war with those means which ravaged Germany for thirty years together, and gave it up an easy prey to rapacious foreigners !\*

Italy has no German or Protestant predilections, and is nevertheless more Ghibelline than in the 12th and 13th century. Nay, many Italians assert that Guelfism has dissolved and ruined country and people. But do not many nations, in other respects extremely jealous of their independence, good-naturedly suffer themselves to be guided by *Italian* popes and cardinals, as though Italian birth were inseparable from the idea of Catholic church-government ?

May the great, the vivifying truths of Christianity, the truths in which all professions agree, continue to be the essence of genuine tolerance and conciliation ! Let zealots of various kinds do what they will, the development ordained by God will

\* The same was the case in France, England, the Netherlands, &c.

not carry back the human race either to the 13th or to the 16th century ; but, according to the expression of others, after the Petrine and Pauline character of christianity has had its day, the Johannean will step into the foreground.

To what end, many may perhaps say, this useless arguing pro and con ? In times of contention one ought (as Solon of old required) to choose one's party and strenuously help to carry on the war, not sit down listlessly or over-prudently between two stools. But is, then, the choice always between two parties only ? Is there but a right and a left, nothing opposite or ahead ? Needs there not, even during war, something to point to higher peace ? That love should get the better of hate, this is the pole-star, which ought not to be lost sight of in all contests, and whoever points to it is not so useless as those imagine who, engaged in the fray, have no inclination or leisure to look upward.

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## LETTER CXVI.

Journey from Naples to Florence.

Florence, September 3d.

OF my run to Malta, and my stay there, I have already given you an account. Since I left Naples I have been travelling with not less rapidity, but

without any extraordinary exertion, and will inform you as briefly as possible how and which way.

On Friday the 30th of August, probably just at the time when you were reading letters from me in Berlin, I got into the coach in Naples, saw Gaeta by moonlight, at daybreak the wretched yet beautiful Itri and Fondi, next Terracina, with its reddish yellow rocks, and the Pontine marshes. Their aspect is more verdant and cheerful than that of many a bepraised tract, and, but for the unwholesome air, they might be compared with our grazing districts. From Velletri to Albano beautiful well cultivated hills, and then the classic Campagna di Roma. I will hold my heretical tongue, lest I should be caught and led about by the æsthetic cord till I cry *Pater peccavi*, and deny my creed from cowardice or weariness. Arrived in Rome between five and six in the evening of the 31st, and left it again about twelve. I made some preparations for getting into a mood of melancholy admiration and fondness, but the fit would not come—the spirit was willing, but the flesh weak. Such circumstances drive one, in order to justify one's self, into opposition. And so I inwardly expressed my displeasure with the imperial era of Rome, which here glorifies itself almost exclusively with columns, triumphal arches, colossal buildings, baths, &c.; laid the papal government of the 16th century by way of shade over the works of Raphael



and Michael Angelo, and almost sunk the sublime idea of the Catholic church in the recollection of the manœuvres of the spiritual parade. In these perverse thoughts I was interrupted, or rather punished for them; for the postillion plunged with both horses into the ditch, and if the three animals had not lain so quiet that we could get out and cut the traces, there would probably have been an end to our thinking in this world. The danger over, I fell into my old train. Instead of looking about at Viterbo, and examining localities in reference to the siege of Frederick II., I merely remarked the wretched state of all doors, locks, and windows, hardened my heart against the swarms of beggars, was but little pleased with the elevated Montefiascone, as I passed beneath it, found Radicofani fertile in comparison with the fields of Etna, slept and saw nothing of Siena, but was fresh and lively again on the morning of the 2nd in the vicinity of Florence.

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## LETTER CXVII.

Journey from Florence to Verona—Austrian Government—  
Prohibition of Begging—School Examination—Passport  
Annoyance.

Verona, September 5th.

My first, or rather my most important, visit in Florence on the 3rd of September was to the Tri-

bune and the other works of art. What I have seen in Rome and Naples has not diminished my admiration of the Venus and the Niobe. Even Titian's Venus, as it is called in the Tribune, is only the picture of a naked, more vain than beautiful woman; the body too large, the knees clumsy—but *ne sutor*.

I dined with the extremely courteous G. S—. The word sentimental having dropped from me, I know not how, M— observed smiling that he had never given me credit for any thing of that kind. Indeed, if I am to shed tears because a piece of bread has been scorched in the toasting, or because a butterfly does not live for ever, I am nothing less than sentimental. My sentimentality lies rather in the direction of that of the prompter in Wilhelm Meister, and gladly leaves the other sort to other people.

The express-coach from Florence to Mantua has but two places; the post, however, thinks it right to sell a third place to persons who are in haste; hence I was exceedingly cramped and uncomfortable. At five in the evening I started; the road in general up hill. A violent thunder-storm passed on before us, illumined the dark summits of the Apennines, and laid the dust without wetting us through. On descending towards Bologna I admired the verdant and cultivated hills the more,

because the bare heights of many more southern provinces were still present to my view.

You need pass but once through the streets of Bologna to feel, nay to see, that this city has a totally different character from Rome, and that the two do not harmonize together. According to appearance, one would expect more cheerfulness in Modena; but the booksellers' shops were chiefly stocked with ascetic and religious works. The fertile, highly cultivated plain of Lombardy has not the presumption to set itself up for picturesque; it relinquishes to others all the charms of the past and is content with the rich present. As I crossed the placid Po, and first discerned the Alps, my thoughts easily flew forward to my home. In passing the Austrian frontier, I felt, too, as though I were now entering a country where there existed social relations and a government, and that the south was to me a *lusus* or *abortus naturæ*. Some, I know, will say that by expressions of this kind I only show the narrowness and heterodoxy of my notions. I am, nevertheless, fantastical enough to build myself an idol *altioris indaginis*, standing with one foot on the Tavoliere of Apulia, with the other beyond the strait on the sulphur-mines of Sicily, having on its breast a rich cabinet of coins, instead of the zodiac, holding in the left hand the ordinances relative to the Tavoliere and the centralization of Sicily, in the right the ever-memorable contract with M.

Taix concerning the sulphur monopoly. Before this colossus Prince Metternich and his colleagues, those Gothamites, as they are called, must fall down, and learn how to bestride and rule the narrow world.

In the evening of the 4th of September I reached Mantua, and set out at half-past four the next morning for Verona, intending to continue my journey without stopping across the Brenta. Why I chose this route I will explain to you verbally; but my haste to reach home was checked by the wiser dispensation of the post, or rather of Heaven, and I was forced to take an unquiet rest in Verona. I traversed the city in all directions, and was delighted for the fourth time with its bustle and its uncommonly beautiful environs. Descending from loftier hills, the Adige rushes on between richly-cultivated eminences, benefits and embellishes the city, and, after it has performed its work, becomes more placid in the plain.

Unluckily I have found in Verona another confirmation of the oft-repeated complaint that the Austrian government attends only to material interests, but neglects, or even undermines, those of a higher nature. In my walks for hours through the streets, great and small, I have not seen a single beggar; not a creature asked charity of me, though it was easy to perceive that I was a traveller. What does this prove, unless that the Austrian go-

vernment attends to such utterly trifling matters as the employment of the healthy and the relief of the necessitous, while it deprives its subjects of all that is most noble, namely, the opportunity of exercising the Christian virtues in the streets? The other governments of Italy, in the profundity of their wisdom, pursue a contrary course, and their subjects, equally sagacious and docile, profit by the lesson, and take care that from year's end to year's end there shall be no lack in the streets of sick, loathsome, and impudent beggars, in order that no Christian may ever want opportunity for the exercise of the Christian virtues!

I heard the sounds of lively military music issuing from a church, and found that the city gymnasium was holding a poetical sitting, at which twenty-eight compositions in all metres were recited in honour of Scaliger. What powers of production! some admirers may exclaim; what diversity in unity! What I heard reminded me of Lichtenberg's bombast. There was no end to the shouting and clapping of hands. A troop of little happy urchins in particular clapped till their hands were quite red, and the trumpets drowned their fortissimo. You missed just the best, you may say; and I will not contradict this mild interpretation.

To prove to what perfection certain government arrangements are brought in Italy, and how many people there are anxious to make the acquaintance

of a respectable man, I might give you a list of 31 signatures to my passport from Naples. Many of these signatures (such as the Prussian and Austrian) are gratuitous ; others, especially the Neapolitan and Roman, are the more expensive. Thus the Neapolitan consul in Malta takes 1 dollar 15 groschen (nearly 5 shillings English) for subscribing his name. As you are obliged, moreover, every time to pay soldiers, people belonging to the police, lacquais de place, and the like, this passport system (in conjunction with the depredations of the custom-house officers and sinners) entails so heavy and vexatious an expense, that it often costs more than eating and drinking, and one had better get off wholesale than be so often plundered retail.

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### LETTER CXVIII.

Journey from Verona to Munich—Insruck.

Munich, September 9th.

FROM Verona I travelled up the valley of the Adige and Eisach, over the Brenner, to Insruck, and by way of Zirl and Partenkirch to this city—a journey (with the exception of the environs of Munich) exactly calculated to refresh and delight the heart. Hills of the most diverse kinds, sublime, beautiful, fantastic, here and there superb precipices and peaks, mostly covered with wood and ver-

ture to their summits. Luxuriant meadows, brilliant flowers, gushing springs, murmuring brooks, impetuous torrents, shady trees, houses and cattle, herdsmen and sportsmen. Ought I to draw comparisons? but who forces me to do so? I will, therefore, merely remark, in a significant manner, that no Tirolese need be afraid of a Sicilian. Neither need the garden of Inspruck shrink from comparison with the Flora of Palermo. It is impossible to contemplate Inspruck, so cheerfully spread out between sober hills, without delight, and the honest race of inhabitants indicates a German present and a German future. "The black Manderl" in the church bore witness for state and art, the Martin's Wall reminded me of the noble courage of a German emperor, and the German frontier custom-house at Mittenwalde relieved the traveller from search till he should reach home. I must do the officers there the justice to acknowledge that they did not search more or less than it was their duty to do. I gave them nothing, and they did not intimate in any way that they expected a gratuity.

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### LETTER CXIX.

Münich—Library—School of Painting—Religious Feuds—  
Threatened Dissolution of the German Confederation.

Münich, September 16th.

THE very kind reception which I find here, and the vast treasures of art, detain me, in spite of my

longing to be at home. "When," I asked the porter "will the library be open?" "You mean the Glyptothek," he replied. Much may hence be inferred respecting the state of philology here, and the relation between art and science. If as much were done for the latter as for the former, it would not produce less excellent fruit.

If the Munich school of painting has appropriated to itself the epic and the tragic, and that of Düsseldorf has confined itself more to the elegy and the idyl, this is partly owing to the nature of the leading masters, and partly to the circumstance that for the development of fresco-painting on a large scale outward encouragements are indispensable, and these have hitherto been afforded almost solely by the King of Bavaria. In comparison with the richness and grandeur of these Munich fresco-paintings by Cornelius, Hess, Schnorr, and others, many pictures admired elsewhere appear almost like mere play, or like cleverly manufactured goods for the supply of a large demand. Many a painter may say to Teniers, to Denner, to Carlo Dolce: *Anch' io sono pittore!* Cornelius may address this exclamation to Michael Angelo, who will not repulse, but acknowledge and give him his hand. But more of all this when I see you.

Though art furnishes most subjects for reflection at Munich, yet many other points could not be left untouched, and, in proportion as the former



delighted, these filled me with profound sorrow. Germany, the kernel, the heart of Europe, is again in danger, through all sorts of zealots, of falling again into religious and political feuds, regardless of the awful era of the thirty years' war, and the cupidity of eastern and western neighbours. Instead of the motto of all confederated states, *Vis unita fortior* — unity gives strength—the contrary principle seems to be every where springing up and made the rule of conduct to the ruin of Germany.

That confederation, on which the most confiding and the best disposed Germans placed their hope, is losing all cohesive force. It says to the members that have been ill for years, and earnestly soliciting medicine and assistance: Your disorder is a local one, and concerns the whole body very little or not at all. But, if these neglected members, thus left to themselves, should at last lose their patience and temper, the cry will be: Revolution! revolution! But, who will then have caused this revolution, and on whom must the blame of it fall?

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## LETTER CXX.

General Survey of Italy—The Arts—Sciences—Music.

Verona, September 6th.

YOUR remark, that my communications relative to Italy are more desultory and detached than those

on England, is quite correct. But is not this partly owing to the subjects and circumstances, which show great diversity, and can scarcely be brought under one point of view, or combined into one picture? On this and many other accounts, one might more easily place together and compare Germany and Italy, than (as Archenholz did) England and Italy. The task, indeed, is attractive and instructive; were it not on the other hand extremely difficult, and in so far ungrateful, that neither party would be satisfied with the results, whether praise or censure.

After I have seen, and by the aid of others learned so much in Italy, I feel a necessity for following up individual remarks and statements with a general survey, in order to sift, if possible, the impressions of the moment, that the more general objective truth may be brought to light. But, in preparing to indulge this inclination, I am met by the just apprehension that in this way more may be easily lost than gained. For the individual impression, the momentary feeling, have at least conditional truth and value; but if you suffer yourself to be led by these impressions, these feelings, to set up general opinions and decisions, that conditional truth invariably disappears before you can exchange it for a higher. And who is there that possesses so much knowledge and penetration as to venture to judge a great country and people in all

its relations, connexions, and doings, and to acquit or condemn?

Notwithstanding these weighty objections, I cannot refrain from looking back at my Italian tour, and again entering upon a brief consideration of individual points. If, in the following fragments, I express myself perhaps more keenly and decidedly than is fitting, it must be considered that mawkish forms of politeness, which so readily present themselves, only make the matter longer and more tedious. Besides, all that I say is a mere personal opinion, at the beginning and end of which is written : *Salvo meliori*.

As a proof how easy it is to fall into the fault of the too much or too little, I prefix two opposite conclusions respecting Italy. A writer of the northern Alps says :—" All her glory has departed, and flown beyond the Alps ; Italy has nothing left of her own but sheer misery." To this a Neapolitan replies :—" He is ill-advised who seeks to deprive Italy of her ancient and merited glory ; she has been in all ages the mistress (*maestra*) of nations." Whoever proves too much, proves nothing : I trust that I shall not be in this predicament.

Not to gain the applause of the Italians, or as a *captatio benevolentiae*, but from a sense of truth, I admit that, every thing considered, the individual Italian, as such, and even without any scholastic

cultivation, is more intelligent, and, when he likes, more may be made of him than in general of any individual person of any other nation ; I admit that the history of Italy is older, and down to the 16th century richer and more multifarious than that of any other country of Europe. But this very truth, this very admiration increases, on the other hand, the measure of demands and the severity of the judgment. It is not from hatred and aversion, but from sympathy and fondness, that the dislike and censure of much that is Italian arise, and the greater and more worthy the subject, the more unworthy are flattery and indulgence.\*

The question has often occurred to me, when in Italy, whether the luck of having a long and glorious history may not be a misfortune to a people. The living generation then sums up all the deeds of its ancestors, exults in them, contents itself with relating and boasting of them, without augmenting by its own energy and industry the treasures which it has inherited. A young people, on the contrary, cannot fill up its time with the examination and analysis of the past ; its views are rather directed to the future ; it concerns not itself about old inheritances, but about new deeds. It is not till we assign its own to every generation, that merit, worth,

\* Nobody can wish more sincerely than myself that the censure pronounced by me, according to the best of my knowledge and my conscience, may be founded only on error.

improvement or deterioration, become apparent ; without this rigorous and often painful examination nations of some antiquity do not arrive at a correct knowledge of themselves, but trick themselves out in borrowed feathers.

In modern times it has become too much the fashion to seek the glory of a nation exclusively in one direction ; though every nation has its peculiar nature and its peculiar glory. Whoever takes an interest only in war, or only in trade, or only in manufacture, whether of cottons or constitutions, may, possibly, like the writer quoted above, perceive in Italy nothing but misery. To me, on the contrary, it appears as if an apish dabbling in foreign matters had already done more harm to the country than if it had strictly adhered to its own nature.

As a proof how much Italy has done for the arts and sciences during the last hundred years, the Italians adduce numberless names which have scarcely ever been heard of beyond the Alps. They may have served for the substructure, but if out of a hundred a few only diffuse light for ages, their value, after the others are taken away, is, like that of the Sibylline books, not diminished, but increased. The consideration becomes more grave, when we compare generation with generation, century with century. Then the immoderate praise which is but too often awarded in Italy for various reasons on that which is almost beneath mediocrity shrinks

exceedingly, and extravagant applause has the same effect upon artists and authors as excessive watering upon plants—both rot. I will not commend the contrary mode of proceeding, which prevails in Germany, and deters or crushes many a one; but the more rigid method is the better touchstone of minds and their real energies.

Does there then appear to be any advance in Italy, it may be asked, when we compare Filangieri with Thomas of Aquino, Genovesi with Jordano Bruno, Camuccini with Raphael, &c. ? But why, replies the Italian, institute so unfavourable a comparison ? Why not rather bring forward the names of Canova, Volta, Galvani, Piazzi, Muratori, Manzoni, and others, whom our age can fearlessly place in competition with past ages and other nations ? It is, therefore, better to avoid such individual comparisons, more especially as we may be and are authorized to assert that the Almighty, in his grace, creates such geniuses, or withholds them at pleasure, and that individuals and the nation are not called to any account on that score.

But there are other directions in which individuals and the nation cannot thus wash their hands in innocence, but are justly culpable and responsible ; for instance, and this is an important point, in regard to music. The sublimest, the holiest side of this most influential of all arts, is almost lost in Italy, and the most egregious, the most indecorous

frivolity has usurped its place. Dramatic music is transformed into mere pastime for tickling the ear, nay, it is boasted of as an advance towards true liberty, that text and music pay no sort of regard to each other, and that the art must forego its inconvenient claims and demands, or regulate them according to the will and pleasure of the hearers. The conviction that a work of art is the sublimest, the most enduring, creation of the human mind, and that it requires all the powers of the spectator and hearer thoroughly to comprehend and to appropriate it to themselves—this conviction is almost universally reputed to be a troublesome superstition, which every one has a right, nay, which it is every one's duty, to shake off. Let the day provide for the day, and live by the day—such is the universal principle, and upon it the present operas are composed. There needs no evidence to prove that in this way the art must inevitably soon fall to decay, nay, that this decay has already commenced. A comparison of the list of performances in the German and Italian theatres will evidently show that with us the most valuable dramatic and musical works of all, or at least of many ages and nations, are understood and appreciated, while in Italy the native summer plants of last year alone are brought forward for exhibition.

## LETTER CXXI.

Italy — Family Life — Cicisbeism — Foundling Hospitals —  
Army — Spirit of modern Catholicism — Classes — Constitu-  
tions.

Münich, September 40th.

THE people and the state are composed of families. If these, if the family life, be not healthy, be not morally and christianly conducted, the basis of all that is great and general, nay, the very essence of life itself, are wanting. I know that I am now upon ticklish ground, where accurate and complete knowledge is impossible, and false opinions are so frequent. But in so far as this incompleteness of knowledge recurs in judging of all nations, the measure of truth and error preserves a kind of equilibrium, and a difference, for instance, between the English and Italian family life, between English and Italian women, strikes every observer. I shall, however, confine myself to some more general phenomena.

Cicisbeism, say many Italians, still subsists as formerly. It subsists no longer, rejoin others. It still subsists, but under different forms, asserts a third party. It is not for me to settle the dispute, but I may venture to maintain that cicisbeism, lightly considered, is a caricature, and, gravely viewed, a repulsive scandal. It is much easier to comprehend or to excuse a single transgression,



committed under the impulse of passion, than this cold order, this sober annoyance, this deplorable waste of time, this unmanly slavery.

Lawful marriage permits, nay, desires, that friends of both sexes may associate with the wedded pair, and bring about a transition from home to larger circles; but this monopoly granted to *one*, this *femina adscriptio*, this unmanning of the husband and the cicisbeo, is the most lamentable invention and practice that the history of family life has to exhibit. Assuming, however, that it is abolished or approaching its end, another evil is springing up with redoubled vigour.

I know nothing on earth that excites such horror, such heart-rending compassion, as the exposure of many thousands of children. What, with indignation kindled afresh in every province, in every city, of Italy, I have so often felt myself compelled to write on this subject I will not here repeat, but only express the conviction that herein is manifested a frightful degeneracy of human nature, the complete correction of which is the first and most indispensable condition of a regeneration of Italy. People cry out for constitutions, chambers, electors, representatives, and the like, as though this artificial structure of social combinations could shoot up into the air, without fathers, mothers, children, brothers, sisters, and family life.

It is asserted, and not without reason, that many

states have been ruined chiefly by their expensive military establishment, by their too numerous standing armies. Italy is suffering under this evil in a fourfold form. In the first place, the soldiers, as in other countries; secondly, the beggars; thirdly, the foundlings; fourthly, the unmarried ecclesiastics and monks.\* I took the part of the latter at a time when it was not the fashion to praise them or to found convents; but it is possible to have too much even of what is good, and it would be easy to prove that every thing of this kind in Italy is not good and salutary, if I could here enter into such prolix inquiries, or upon the whole any proof were necessary.

Still less can I notice the most important question, discussed for centuries, and answered in different ways, on the influence of the christian confessions upon states and nations. - Each party claims the light side for itself, and assigns the dark one to the others; and yet there is no shade but where there is light. Whoever steadily maintains his ground within the limits of one party is a good champion, but not a good observer and historian, on whom it is incumbent to view things from a more comprehensive point, and, as it is also the duty of a dramatic poet, to transform himself, as it were, into several persons.

\* Satirical persons assert that the recommendation of founding hospitals by the clergy has the closest connexion with their celibacy.

A few remarks may here suffice. Besides the true, genuine, I might say ideal, Catholic, two shoots or excrescences have sprung up in Italy on different sides. The multitude, especially in the south of Italy, cherishes many a superstition, which, only under different names and forms, leads back to downright paganism, and translates the position, "God is a spirit," into the axiom, "God is a body." Neither clergy nor governments take any pains to establish a higher spiritualism ; partly because they are strangers to it themselves, partly because it is not suited to the people, and superstition itself is a medium for governing with the greater ease.

A second party, developing itself chiefly in the higher classes, seems to adopt all the doctrines and practices of the church, to follow them without opposition, or even to validate them, from interested motives ; while, in reality, the profounder doctrines of the christian faith are incomprehensible or indifferent to it. It agrees, for the sake of outward peace, with the church, but, transplanted to the palace of truth, would rather vote for canonizing Voltaire than Thomas of Aquino.

Hence arises the question, whether Italy has not lost more than she has gained by the suppression of all movements tending to reform. Independently of the greater worth or worthlessness of confessions and occurrences, the prodigious intellectual labours which whole nations have for several successive

generations imposed on themselves, have not been fruitless; in spite of all excrescences, and even crimes, they have defended from barren indifference, supercilious indolence, and thoughtless lassitude. Religion is, in the last place, most assuredly a gift that comes from above; but men show a difference in the way in which they prepare themselves for its reception, and in which, after its reception, they treat and employ the gift. Where, as in Italy in general, religion is offered and accepted as something ready-made and finished, and the spiritual custom-house authorities establish a system of rigid exclusion, there certainly takes place no fermentation of doubt, but likewise no higher illumination, as in Paul and Augustine. Thinking and knowing, that noblest occupation of man, ought to be associated with faith; nations which have been content with one half, have fallen into error and been left behind in the career of development. What I am here alluding to might perhaps be still more clearly shown and demonstrated from the history of Spain than from that of Italy.

I shall take leave to add here another remark. People with little, or little cultivated, individuality, may become for ever subordinate through the influence of superior nations; people who are intellectually rich and cultivated are wrong, on the other hand, to shun or to despise foreigners. This dislike of exertion, or this presumptuous self-conceit,

is invariably in the end its own punishment. It is certainly a symptom of improvement that the Italians no longer deem all beyond the Alps barbarians, but at length begin to travel and to learn foreign languages. The German language and literature, however, are still greatly neglected; hence a thousand misconceptions almost inevitably arise, and just in those things where a correct notion of the spirit and nature of both nations must have so salutary an effect. For most Italians an Austrian civilian or lieutenant is the mould in which they conceive all Germans to have been cast: and they deem this a sufficient ground for contempt and contumely. North Germany, Protestant Germany, is to most an absolute *terra incognita*, or reputed to be the seat of innumerable abominations. And yet it may be affirmed that the Italians would harmonize more readily with the north Germans than with the Austrians. Most certainly then, it would be an inquiry equally important and instructive, why those despised Austrians rule in Italy, and rule better than do the much cleverer Italians in most provinces. The result would perhaps be, that many kinds of cleverness are just the reverse of true wisdom.

Our youth, said a highly-celebrated Italian to me, study but do not work; they know and honour only the wisdom and the opinion of the journals. In this case, the false enthusiasm, sometimes arising

from a misconception of the great Greeks and Romans, would be far better than that which proceeds from an idolatrous worship of Italian, and still more of French, journals.

As far as personal talent, superiority of individuality, is concerned, the Italians have often led the way; but precisely this knowledge and sense of superiority in individuals renders them unfit to unite with others, or to act a subordinate part. This assertion seems to be contradicted by the former strong predilection of the Italians for civic, municipal, institutions; but was not then that which decided, impelled, held together, something strictly individual, only of a more comprehensive kind, for instance, the higher or inferior nobility, the richer or poor citizens, &c.? The mutual position and co-ordination of several classes, the intermixture of ecclesiastical, monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements, have never been impartially appreciated; efforts were always directed solely to the end of obtaining a decided superiority for the one or the other, and these efforts were but too often successful.

In more recent times, the monarchical principle has gained a decided preponderance, and the republican addition made to it is in general but a shadow without essence or importance. Few governments comprehend that it is easier and better to govern where well regulated corporations exist, than where one has to do with disconnected individuals, with irregular atoms.

Are then the component parts now in existence out of which forms of constitutions might be constructed? Undoubtedly, as soon as one sets to work the arithmetic, in this case very unsatisfactory, with unknown numbers or mere quantities. The matter appears more difficult, as soon as one thinks of living qualities or endeavours to associate these with the quantities.

In the first place, there is scarcely any where an independent peasantry, possessing property. Too free above, too oppressed below — hence proceeds stuff for revolution, not for quiet development. Elected representatives of free peasants, such as sit, for instance, in the diets in the Prussian dominions, are impossible in Italy, nay, means are wanting to prevent the ruin of the class of peasants, which is possible enough according to the laws.\* Here we arrive again at that equally important and dangerous question, how far the state can, nay ought to, avert the dangers of an unconditional private right, and to sanctify and glorify it.

In the class of burghers we find in many provinces mere individuals, as though freedom of trade and the suppression of the old abuses of corporations were incompatible with all community and efficient communal regulations.

\* In Prussia, too, the question is not yet solved by law, how an efficient peasantry is to be combined and reconciled with the natural and irresistible advances of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, &c.

The nobility is still further, perhaps, from answering its idea. Excessively wealthy or decayed ; almost invariably inactive. The simplest, noblest, and most natural occupation, agriculture, which in England and Germany preserves and raises the nobility, is despised in Italy. As rarely are the great disposed to enter into the service of the state, and art and science are not every one's forte. But too many Italians seek liberty externally, whereas it ought to be found from within. It proceeds from exertion and self-denial, not from inactivity and indulgence ; and in this respect the Italian people are superior to most of the members of the aristocracy of the country.

The German nobles, to whom it was impossible to lead an active country life, mostly chose, according to ancient custom, the military profession : an outlet which is more rarely offered to the Italian nobles, and much oftener rejected. Without dwelling here on the well-known evils of an immoderate military tendency, I may remark that military discipline imparts a firmness and a law which a life of idleness has not, and which an individual seldom imposes upon himself. Then, too, the peaceful years of indulgence were succeeded by the graver season of war, which put aside the spirit of frivolity, and furnished occasion for the exercise of genuine virtue. One may well doubt whether it was and is better for the individual and for all, for personal



development, and for the stamina and vital energy of the whole nation, that the younger branches of the Italian nobility should voluntarily enter, or be sent to, the convent. Among a people thoroughly brave and fond of war, (for instance the French) the practice of substitutes in the army will not be detrimental to the military spirit ; but, in Italy, especially in the south, an education in this way needful for all, and which in Prussia has essentially raised military courage and military talent, is wanting.

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## LETTER CXXII.

Italy—Survey of the individual States—Sicily—Naples.

Münich, September 12th.

If the observations contained in my last two letters are placed beside those thrown out here and there in former ones, they will perhaps serve to fill up many a chasm. Having touched upon some general Italian matters, it may not be amiss to review once more the individual states, to remind you of their peculiarities, and of their present existence or non-existence.

If we begin with the south, with Sicily, we shall find that the inhabitants are to be charged rather with too great than too little love of country. This, however, tends in no respect to diminish the per-

ception of the defects of the present, or the feeling of them ; on the contrary, it causes people to place the poetic glory of the past in a doubly bright light, and to lay the chief blame of the darkness of later times on the Neapolitan government. To prove to what unjust lengths suspicion and obloquy have extended, I need only mention that many gave full credit to the rumour that the government had purposely transplanted the cholera to Sicily, out of revenge, and to punish the inhabitants.

Let us, however, set this abortion of fear and passion wholly aside, we shall meet with manifold constructions of present circumstances, which prove bitter animosity. If the government, say very many, would not exactly poison the inhabitants, yet it is evident that it would fain plunge them into poverty and misery, that it would ruin them in an unprecedented manner, in order that distress may produce blind submission, or despair drive to insurrection, and afford a pretext for the utmost stretch of arbitrary tyranny. The government, add others, will, without knowing it, be strengthened in these atrocious measures by the Carbonari, who still keep their ground in the Neapolitan dominions. During periods of former danger, Sicily was a safe retreat for the sovereign, a *point d'appui*, from which Naples might always be recovered. If, on the contrary, Sicily is estranged from its rulers, and driven into enmity and insurrection, the Neapo-

litan revolutionists have nothing behind them to fear, and have double strength for the execution of their plans. They wish Sicily to make the beginning, that they may follow with more convenience and safety. With all these notions are combined hopes or dreams of complete independence, of European revolutions, of English assistance, nay, with some, of English sovereignty—which, in fact, might perhaps furnish the readiest means of meliorating the state of the unfortunate island.

Ireland, the English Sicily, might be startled at such ideas; but there peculiar causes of misgovernment exist, and the futurity of Sicily is far more hopeless than that of Ireland. The more I reflect upon this subject with profound sympathy, the more I am puzzled. So total a transformation and regeneration as Sicily needs are utterly impossible. The country people and the town people, the clergy and the nobility, the monastic system, the administration, and the constitution, must all be changed, renewed throughout, and pass through a purifying fire, a purgatory, which each awards to the other, without being willing to undergo it himself.

The most incomprehensible party, and at the same time the most to blame, is the government, as I have already shown by some of the most striking proofs out of a great many. The latest history of Europe presents abundance of examples of inconvenient, stupid, criminal, forms of government, and

has led many to seek relief in a good administration alone. But whoever wishes to learn what distress, what ruin ensue, when the forms of the constitution are one and all arbitrarily thrown aside and a perverse, selfish bureaucracy seats itself upon the throne—let him go to Sicily. Not that there is an absolute lack of intelligent and disinterested functionaries of praiseworthy and useful measures ; but one must be more than a Hercules to cleanse this Augean stable.

If people submit to all this, if they are not driven to the extremity of resistance, it is not owing to attachment, confidence, piety, conscience, but fear lest the Sicilian populace, when once let loose, might keep no bounds in their vengeance, but plunder and murder even those who should have set them in motion against the detested Neapolitans. Such is the state of things and of the guarantees of the social relations in Sicily, according to the admission of Sicilians themselves.

In Naples, owing to the more cheerful, light-hearted disposition of the people, things do not wear so grave an aspect ; and then these are the rulers and the leaders of the *ton* in regard to the Sicilians. But that even here there is to be found scarcely one who loves, respects, and defends the government, is so painful and so alarming to the sympathizing observer, that it requires all the exuberant riches of wonderfully beautiful nature to

make him forget them at least for a few hours. The contrast between that which is given by God and that which is the work of man is then doubly glaring, and sounds like an undissolved discord amidst the harmony of nature.

There is, nevertheless, a remarkable difference between the ways in which things are viewed by the older and the younger Neapolitans. The former were once persecuted, suffered from several revolutions, long for repose, and are thankful to the government if this is insured to them even by censurable means. The younger, on the other hand, know nothing of older times from immediate experience, deem it no merit in the government that it abstains from persecution, are of opinion that the attempts at improvement were set about in a foolish manner, and live in the conviction that they should have managed every thing more cleverly and successfully, that at any rate the probable gain would be greater than the loss to be apprehended. This party is daily increasing, while the former is diminishing. Placed between the two, the government pursues no decisive course, aims at no precise object, and imagines that by means of the police (which is always but negative, and operates only upon individuals) it can preserve and restore the health of the whole. There is so much that is incoherent, incongruous, contradictory, in the laws and their application, that it is very difficult or

rather impossible to find out the why and the wherefore. To this is to be added (as it is asserted) an unhappy shyness of the government of distinguished talents. Burke was quite right when he observed that mere talent inclines toward Jacobinism. But instead of exercising and clarifying it by practical activity, it is almost invariably thrust back and nearly driven into discontent. This dislike of superior intellect, this preference of shallow mediocrity, operates the more mischievously, since there is in Naples by no means any lack of eminent and accomplished men. But from the point to which they are confined, many merely exchange enthusiasm for passion, and fancy that, with their natural levity, firmness and character may well be dispensed with. And yet the history of Naples itself most clearly shows that without these neither individuals nor nations can accomplish any great object.

If in Sicily revolutionary explosions are repressed through fear of the native populace, to this fear is added in Naples that of the Austrians. "In the whole history of the world," said a Neapolitan to me, "there is nothing greater, wiser, more temperate, more admirable, than—the Neapolitan revolution of 1820. This miraculous work the Austrians destroyed." But even those who regard this so-called miraculous work as a piece of insanity, do not thank the Austrians for destroying it. Above all, the government is ashamed of its weakness, and

that it was supported and reinstated by foreign force alone. Most certainly the Austrians will not suffer any focus of insurrection, any revolutionary constitutions, in South Italy; but it is unreasonable to assert that they promoted, that they adopted, senseless measures, which are the reverse of those so laudably carried into effect by them in the kingdom of Lombardy? Thus, for instance, the mischievous disposition to centralize and to fashion Naples and Sicily after one pattern, is precisely contrary to the course pursued by the Austrian government in its dominions.

“It is totally out of our power,” said an Austrian, holding a high official situation to me, “to exercise any salutary influence in Naples; the government would pay more attention to the suggestions of the Bey of Tunis than to our’s.”—In this way it fancies that it displays independence, and at the same time employs the bugbear of the Austrians against its subjects, discontented, unfortunately not without reason.

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### LETTER CXXIII.

States of the Church — Tuscany — Piedmont.

Münich, September 13th.

OF no state is it so difficult to form an opinion as of the Roman, because the temporal and spiritual

authorities are so intermixed, and praise and censure are pronounced from the most different points of view ; but censure in such preponderating measure, that one is doubtful whether it is founded on general truth or general prejudices. In the first place, not a few reject all and every spiritual authority, so that the most exemplary government of a pope would find no favour in their sight because he is a spiritual prince. Here the first question that forces itself upon us is, whether Rome would not be a great loser if it were only a temporal city, and no longer the centre of Catholic christendom, or if the pope were rendered subordinate to a temporal ruler. Assuredly the pope is essentially upheld by his ecclesiastical position and by foreign protection. If an insurmountable wall were raised around the States of the Church, the great majority of the inhabitants, especially in the Legations, would declare against the papal government and forthwith put an end to it. This state of things, to whatever cause it may be owing, is a most deplorable one, and how it is to be remedied is a subject that requires the gravest and profoundest investigation. For it is scarcely to be conceived that the government can long continue to go on in its own strength in the same manner as it has hitherto done.

If one cheerfully concedes to the spiritual element the full and preponderating right in the States of the Church, still one cannot suppress the weighty



doubt, whether it is absolutely necessary to place the administration in all its branches in the hands of ecclesiastics. Salutory it certainly is not, any more than in one of the military states, as they are called, to fill offices without exception with military men. Might it not be possible to retain the spiritual and ecclesiastical character in all essential points, and at the same time to comply with many, by no means unreasonable, demands of the laity, and thus restore that content which unfortunately is now wanting ?

It is true that, besides personal changes, many must be made in things, not to arrive at an arbitrary and revolutionary result, but at a result really suitable to the times. The popes of later times have certainly not been deficient in good-will, and their history is more pure, more commendable, than that of many of their predecessors in former periods ; but history has too often proved, and in this case also, that good-will does not comprise in itself the true art of government. The papal government ought, in ecclesiastical as well as temporal respect, to stand at the head of universal development. Whether it is truly so in the former case is a point on which, as it is well known, opinions differ ; the pre-eminence in the latter, on the other hand, nobody ventures to claim for it.

Though the loud censure of the jurisprudence, the financial system, the course of business, the

official appointments, may be, after the fashion of the present day exaggerated, still it is certainly not wholly unfounded, and a sweeping denial is less advisable than a prudent melioration. Unfortunately, petty trials occasionally lead to the inference of great want of tact, and manifest a misconception of the times into which Gregory VII. and Innocent III. would not have fallen. In proud confidence in themselves, they would not have scrupled to expose their lives, writings, and deeds, openly to the world; and to present them to universal history; trusting to the rock upon which the church is founded, if they had not ascribed great importance to little persons and little things, or treated the study of nature as dangerous to religion. An insight into older and later errors, confession of faults, communication of every thing historical, would rather strengthen than injure the papacy. For, by this very course, that which is defective separates itself, falls to the ground, and loses its importance; while that which is good and right appears in a brighter and more vigorous form. Whoever denies this is, in reality, a renegade from Catholicism; he despairs of the church and the state of the church, and leaves both to perish, without belief in their right, power, and incessant regeneration. The too active, as well as the wholly inactive votaries of ecclesiastical authority, play alike into the hands of their enemies.

As you enter Tuscany, every thing assumes a

more cheerful, contented aspect. The noble views, useful activity, paternal beneficence of the grand-duke are universally acknowledged, and with this acknowledgment is happily associated personal attachment, without which every connexion between sovereign and subjects is defective and heartless. The country appears like a fortunate island, which has indeed been visited by the severest hurricanes, but is physically and morally protected from all minor tempests. Every where are displayed a harmony, a union, a concordance, a noble moderation, which frequently reminded me of Xenophon. But Xenophon represents only one side of Hellenism, and stands on the most perilous limit where one easily sinks below the due measure, and enviable mediocrity is transformed into weakness. Owing to many little obstacles and impediments, every thing in Tuscany does not advance so much as might be wished. The once so boisterous natures are become, one may say, too tame, and that steeled character, that force of inspiration, which once called forth such men as Dante and Michael Angelo, seem to be wanting.

It is otherwise in Piedmont. The Piedmontese, said a Neapolitan to me, are no Italians; certainly they are no Neapolitans. One is surprised at the energy of their character, their extraordinary industry, the earnestness of literary inquiry, the regularity in the economy of the state, the efficiency

of the army, the freshness of the people. Nothing decayed, superannuated, no mere past, but a present and a future also.

Sardinia, in particular, has been called in a praiseworthy manner to new and infallible advances through the wisdom of the king and the activity of Count Villa Marina ; while the rulers of Sicily, before so ill, are hurrying her by all sorts of blunders to absolute death.

The greater the interest and pleasure with which the observer remarks those advances, the more he must wish that two dangers which threaten from opposite sides may be obviated. It is to be hoped that the Sardinian government may not suffer itself, out of just aversion to unchristian ungodliness, to be seduced to see the christian only in certain forms and tendencies, which, kept under curb and rein, have to be sure a natural existence and a certain worth, but which, placed legislatively and despotically at the head, subjugate the state, check the development of nations, and recognize no other standard, no other direction for present and future, than the past, and this only in so far as it just pleases and ensures advantages to them.

A strong aversion, nay, bitter hatred to this danger leads to the vicinity of another. Though, namely, the disposition to French notions and objects has, for many reasons, greatly decreased, yet some still forget the maxim, *Timeo Danaos dona*

*ferentes* — and others, through constant occupation with French literature, contract notions which have often proved injurious to the French themselves, and are not at all suited to other nations. Increasing acquaintance with German and English literature will, it is to be hoped, restore the equilibrium, and the peculiar national development will then proceed with greater freedom.

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#### LETTER CXXIV.

Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom—Unity of Italy—Revolutions  
—Advances—Hopes and Wishes.

Münich, September 16th.

IF the opinions of the Italians on many Italian governments are severe, there is a further great and peculiar cause of discontent in regard to the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. I shall state the charges in their gravest form. — The Austrians (so say the most zealous) are odious foreigners, who are endeavouring to debase the national character by vile means (*espionnage*, secret police, &c.) in order to confirm their dominion; who raise the most unworthy to the highest posts, and force every clever Italian to withdraw from public life. To such no choice is left but degradation or death.

Such are the most violent charges expressed in the strongest terms. Before I enter upon any investi-

gation of them, I must remark that, in four visits to Lombardy, I have every time found that the number and vehemence of the complainants had decreased, till very lately an equally clever and zealous Italian said to me in full earnest : " The Austrian government is so excellent in every respect that we have nothing whatever to complain of. But this is a great misfortune, because it deprives us of all motives and means for setting the multitude in motion, and bringing about a new era."

Let us now proceed to the consideration of details, with that conscientiousness which such important subjects and such strong contrasts require. The house of Austria, it is true, is not of Italian, any more than of Hungarian or Bohemian origin, any more than the Russian reigning family originally belonged to Russia, the Swedish to Sweden, the English to England, the Prussian to Prussia, the Spanish to Spain, the Neapolitan to Naples. From such numerous and remarkable phenomena one might perhaps infer a more profound law, or discover in them a higher dispensation, by which the interests of various nations are adjusted, prejudices removed, fresh life infused. Moreover, the Austrian rule in Italy has not arisen solely from arbitrary will and violence ; it has added antiquity to ancient right ; it has not, by any means, inundated the country with Germans, or ever aimed at forcing the Italians into other forms. On the other hand, it may be urged

that the complaints of the Lombards have no reference to the descent of the reigning house, but to this point, that it has not become completely nationalized, completely indigenous, as is the case with the Hapsburgers in Florence, and the Bourbons in Naples. Hence Milan continues to be but a subordinate centre, while Europe (to mention only one circumstance) sends ambassadors to Florence.

In the last place, these complaints set up this principle, that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom ought not to be regarded as a member of a greater whole, but to obtain a totally separate existence, a perfect independence. It is certainly a subject for the gravest consideration of the Austrian government, whether and how far it can comply with these natural wishes, and anticipate still more the other Italian governments in regard to real, praiseworthy liberality (for instance in the matter of the censorship). The demand that it should abdicate the sovereignty and resign it into the hands of I know not whom, is, however, unjust, incapable of execution, and of such a nature that the requisitionists (placed themselves in similar circumstances) would never comply with it. Most assuredly, that wished-for independence did not in any way exist at the time of the French rule in Italy; and many measures, censured as ambiguous or cruel, resorted to by the Austrians in sheer self-defence, have been thrown aside (as in

the case of the amnesty just granted) as soon as they ceased to be absolutely necessary.

The assertion that Austria aims at debasing the national character is, (independently of its intrinsic absurdity and injustice) directly contradicted by her efforts for improving the system of public instruction, and the universal attestations of the excellence of her mode of government. If the Austrian government is not at this moment the best and the most liberal in all Italy, is it not better than that of ancient Rome over conquered nations, than the English in Ireland, and the Russian in Poland?

This, I may be told, is a very slender consolation, and a bad native government is, undoubtedly, preferable to a good government by foreigners. But in this case there is at least a prospect that this foreign government may be gradually transformed into a native one, because the Austrians are enemies of all centralization, and disposed to appoint natives in every country under their sway.

The hope of effecting by violence, by great revolutions, a salutary transformation of one's country is brilliant, indeed, but generally illusory. He pursues the less specious but safer and more commendable course, who commences the regeneration with himself, and relinquishes the mischievous notion that the force of circumstances compels him to renounce his duties, because they are not to be ful-



filled in the form of the glorious. If the young nobility of Milan should deem it more dignified to ride about, to carry on love-intrigues, to lounge in theatres, and to rail against the government in coffee-houses, than to employ, to exert, to train themselves in subordinate spheres for higher ones, it would be they who (in opposition to the wishes of Austria) would undermine their own and the national character, and render a regeneration of Italy more and more impossible.

The idea, so frequently expressed, that this regeneration of Italy consists in its formation into one state, in a Frenchified centralization, with a ruling capital, and the new-fangled glory of journals and pamphlets \*—this idea is unpractical, impracticable, ruinous. To advert to one point only: the principal cities, each of which has so much to advance in its own behalf, would never acknowledge the supremacy of the one that might be selected; the favoured city would perish by inflammatory fever, and the others by consumption; and the great, the exclusive richness of Italian development would wholly disappear. How absurd, how anti-national, this plan, abstractedly so specious, really is, has recently been proved by the unfortunate experiment made in

\* I am by no means disposed, on account of the abuse of journals, to depreciate the real merits of journalists; but the salvation of the world will not proceed pre-eminently from that quarter.

only two divisions of the same kingdom, Naples, and Sicily. The idea of a unity of Italy must, therefore, be much more profoundly conceived, and much more judiciously executed ; or the new defects that would not fail to break forth would be at least as great as the old ones which it were so desirable to remedy.

True it is that revolutions proceed not from the dark side alone of the human mind. There have been revolutions which have broken fetters and emancipated mind, and which have not established, but abolished, injustice and violence. Wherein, then, is the difference between condemnable and salutary revolutions ? It consists in this, that in the latter presides the spirit of God, and this is no other than the spirit of love. Without this distinctive mark, this touchstone, men give themselves up only to the illusions of the devil.

Every thing considered, Italy has certainly made great advances in many points, in comparison with the seventeenth century, yet much is still to be desired — perhaps, in spite of the apparently hostile antithesis, much that is German. Assuredly, no worn-out ideal state, but one general connecting national feeling, and a love of country which fears not to die for it ; no arithmetical normal constitution, but truly efficient deliberations in every part of the country ; no atomical citizenship, but increase of wisdom and energy by corporate institutions ;

no populace crushed by poverty, or enjoined to beg, but a broad, domestic, contented basis of the whole ; no foundling-hospitals, but schools ; no indolent nobility, but exertion, rising with more elevated position ; no intolerant priesthood, but free development in different, but at last harmoniously converging, directions ; no fear of science, no taxation of the intellectual, but only counteraction of the manifestly irreligious and immoral ; no separation of material interests, but abolition of barricades and lines of custom-houses ; no passion without character and wisdom ; no religious creed without showing its effect on life and conduct.

All this, if not already happily accomplished in individual provinces, the sovereigns and people of Italy may effect, in order to open a new and glorious career, if they but set about it in good earnest. If they will not, the tones of their ancient glory may not wholly die away, but sooner or later their rulers must fall, and the Italians be outstripped by those nations which do not bury, overrate, or squander their talent, but gratefully employ and increase it by industry of every kind.

THE END.

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